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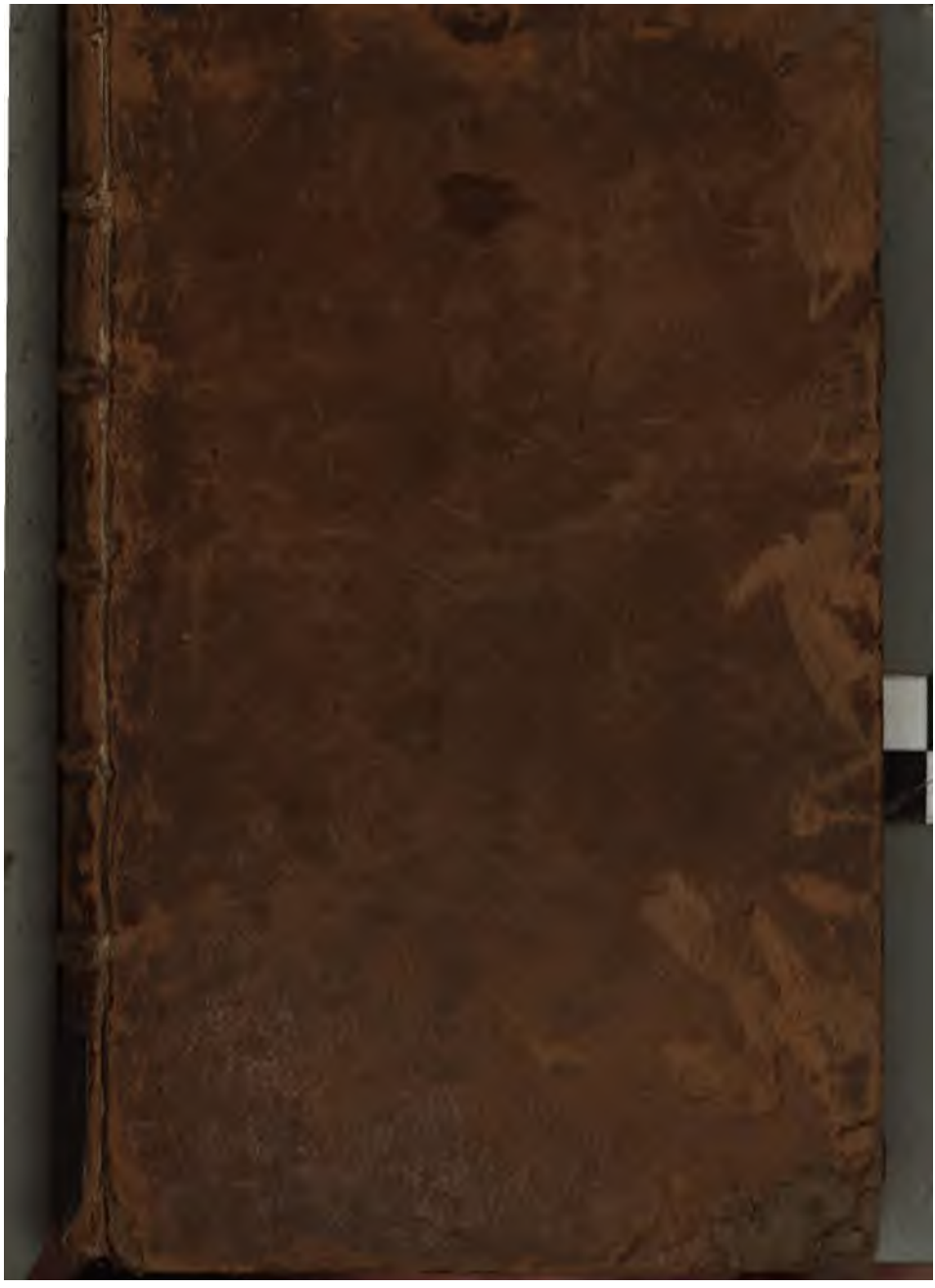
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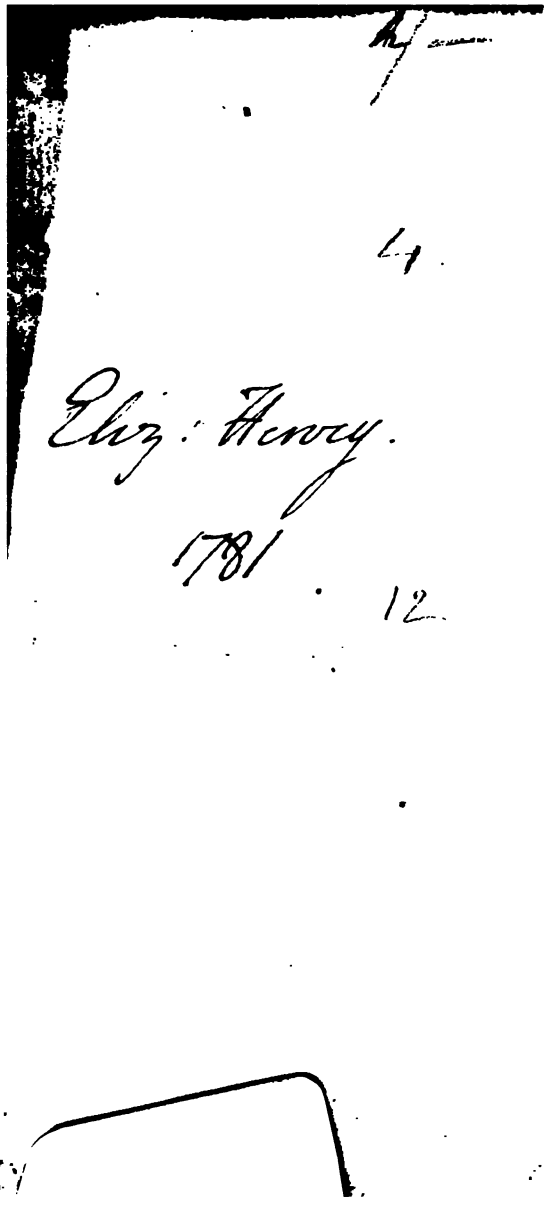
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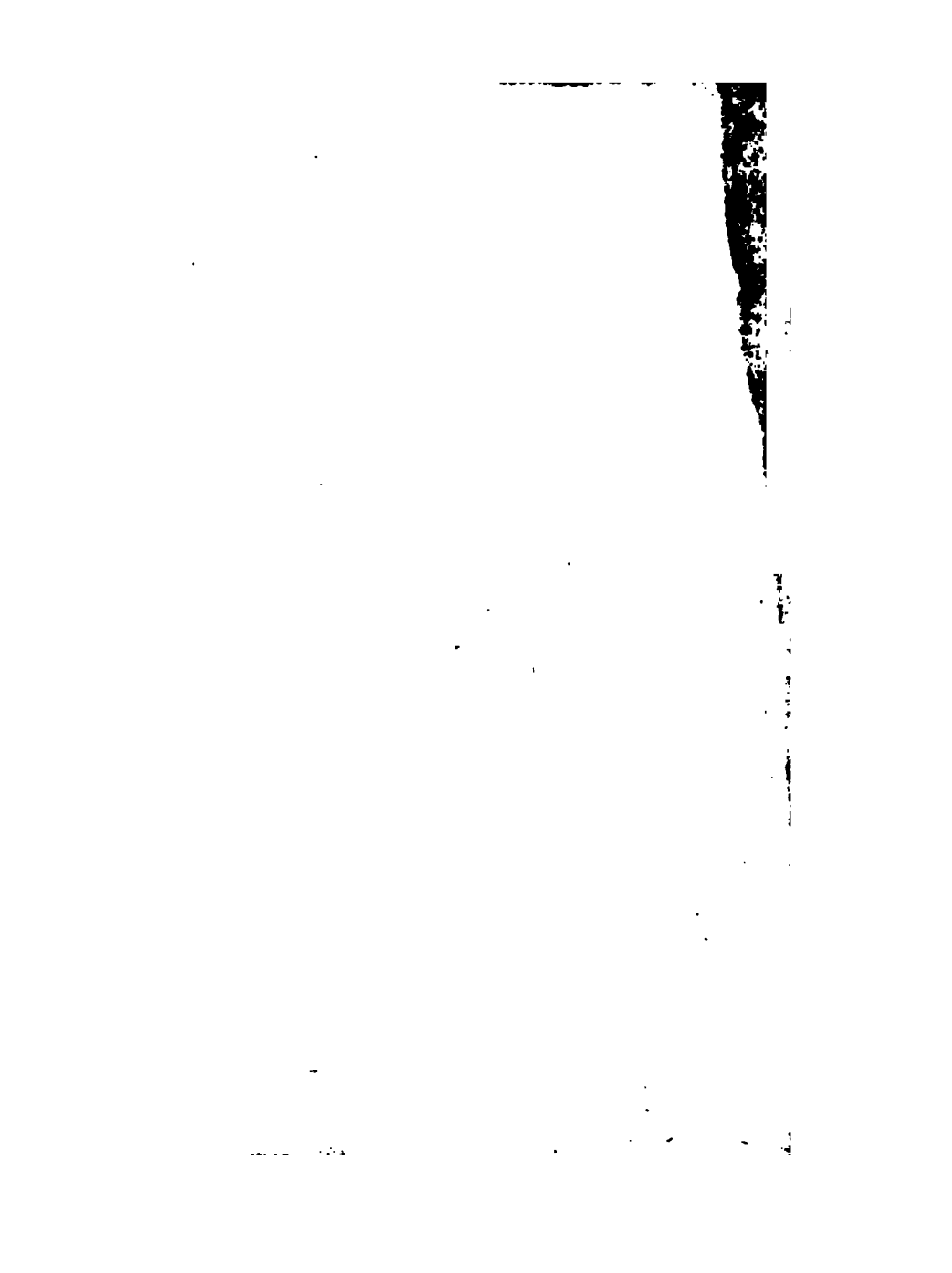
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THE

LIFE

And moſt ſurpriſing

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Of YORK, Mariner;

WHO

Lived Eight and Twenty Years in an uninhabited Iſland on the Coaſt of *America*, lying near the Mouth of the great River of *Oroonoque*: Having been caſt on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men were drowned but himſelf: As alſo a Relation how he was wonderfully delivered by Pyrates.

The whole Three Volumes faithfully abridged.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for S. CROWDER, in *Pater-noſter-Row*; J. SEWELL, in *Cornhill*; W. JOHNSTON, in *Ludgate-Street*; and B. LAW, in *Avemary-Lane*.

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PREFACE.

IT is very well known what univerſal reception the life of this man has met with in the world, and therefore needs little or no apology for this edition, which comprizes the three volumes into one faithful abridgment. In the peruſal of which you will find ſo many curious moral obſervations, ſo many divine reflections to comfort the afflicted mind, and ſuch an heavenly proſpect of the wonderful Providence of God, that ſcarce any who read it but what may make ſome application of it to themſelves, and pleaſingly be led to knowledge of the divine bleſſings.

But here I am ſenſible, that as there are ſome who complain againſt the deſign, in general, as an inconſiſtent romance; ſo there are others who, I doubt not, will not fail depreciating the performance of this in particular; they may repreſent, that the abridging a work is ſcandalous and ridiculous; and that thereby is taken away from it the only ornaments that recommend it to wiſe men. If this be true, and they could perſuade the world ſo, I know not what muſt become of thoſe many curious abridgments that are extant among us, far more pleaſant than the tireſome eloquence of larger volumes; nor how well the common ſort of people will be pleaſed in being with-held, by an exceſſive price, from a hiſtory ſo inſtructive and entertaining: And do aſſure my readers, whatever they may allege againſt this abridgment, there are not only many errors corrected, but ſeveral palpable and groſs contradictions rectified and amended: In a word, there is not one material circumſtance omitted; neither is there any deprived of its moſt proper obſervations.

The firſt volume treats of his ſhipwreck, the manner of his deliverance upon the Deſolate

Iſland, *and tells of all that anxiety of mind he endured, till the uncommon accident of his being releaſed, after eight and twenty years ſolitude.*

In the ſecond, he appears in his proſperous condition, till the death of his dear wife; when, reſuming his former wandering inclinations, it neceſſarily leads us to his future adventures, and remarkable travels by land from the Eaſtern *countries, which are as amuſing and inſtructive as his voyage by ſea.*

In the laſt place is ſhewn to us a proſpect of the angelic world, the bleſſings of peace, retirement and contentment, which is the end of life, the glory of happineſs, and an introduction to the divine and bleſſed manſions above.

When this book firſt appeared in the world, how delightful, how raviſhing did it ſeem to every reader? Here the paſſions of the mind were ſo beautifully expreſſed, both in the nature of his adverſity and proſperity, that melted every heart with a tender ſympathy and compaſſion. Robinſon Cruſoe *was in every body's mouth as much as in the mouth of* Pretty Poll! *But ſince, to this abridgment there are added two parts more, with the natural conſequence of life. Surely this, methinks, cannot but give an entire ſatisfaction, as much as any thing of this kind can poſſibly do; and therefore, I cannot otherwiſe think but it will be well worth my reader's peruſal; and, I hope, merit his approbation too.*

Needleſs therefore it is to enlarge any farther on this performance, but leave it to the ingenuity and candour of unprejudiced perſons: And whatever may be the fate of it, I do aſſure the public, that no pains or labour have been wanting to render this hiſtory delightful, inſtructive, and entertaining.

AN

A N

ABRIDGEMENT

OF THE

Life and Adventures

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

IN the year 1632, I was born at *York*, of a reputable family. My father was a native of *Bremen*, who, merchandizing at *Hull* for ſome time, gained a very plentiful fortune, and married my mother in *York*, who received her firſt breath in that country. And as her maiden name was *Robinſon*, I was called *Robinſon Kreutznaer*; which not being eaſily pronounced in the *Engliſh* tongue, we are commonly known by the name of *Cruſoe*.

I was the youngeſt of three brothers; the eldeſt was a Lieutenant Colonel in *Lockhart*'s regiment, but ſlain by the *Spaniards*: What became of the other I could never learn.

No charge nor pains were wanting in my education, my father deſigning me for the law; yet no-

thing would ſerve me, but I muſt go to ſea, both againſt the will of my father, the tears of my mother, and the entreaties of friends. One morning my father expoſtulated very warmly with me: Says he, what reaſon have you to leave your native country, where there muſt be a more certain proſpect of content and happineſs, than to enter into a wandering condition of uneaſineſs and uncertainty? He recommended to me *Agar*'s wiſh, *neither to deſire adverſity, nor riches*; that a middle ſtate of life was the moſt happy; and that the high towering thoughts of raiſing our condition by wandering abroad, were ſurrounded with miſery and danger, and often ended with confuſion and diſappointment: I entreat you, nay I command you, *ſays he*, to deſiſt from theſe intentions: Conſider your eldeſt brother, who laid down his life for his honour, or rather loſt it for his diſobedience to my will. If you will go, *added he*, my prayers ſhall however be offered for your preſervation; but a time may come, when, deſolate, oppreſt, or forſaken, you may wiſh you had taken your poor deſpiſed father's counſel----He pronounced theſe words with ſuch a moving and paternal eloquence, while floods of tears ran down his aged cheeks, that ſeemed to ſtem the torrent of my reſolutions.

But this wore off ſoon, and a little after I informed my mother, that I could not ſettle to any buſineſs, my reſolutions were ſo ſtrong to ſee the world; and begged ſhe would gain my father's conſent, only to go one voyage, which if it did not prove proſperous I would never attempt a ſecond: But my deſire was as vain as my folly in aſking: my mother paſſionately expreſt her diſlike of this propoſal, telling me, *That as ſhe ſaw I was bent upon my own deſtruction, contrary to their will and my duty, ſhe would ſay no more, but leave me to myſelf, to do whatſoever I pleaſed.*

I was then, I think, nineteen years old, when one time being at *Hull*, I met a ſchool-fellow of mine, going along with his father, who was maſter of a ſhip, to *London:* And acquainting him with my wandering deſires, he aſſured me of my free paſſage, and a plentiful ſhare of what was neceſſary. Thus, without imploring a bleſſing, or taking a farewell of my parents, I took ſhipping on the firſt of *September* 1651. When our ſhip having no ſooner left the *Humber* a-ſtern, but there aroſe ſuch a violent ſtorm, and being extremely ſea-ſick, I thought the judgments of God deſervedly followed me for my diſobedience to my dear parents. It was then only I called to mind the good advice of my father; how eaſy and comfortable was a middle ſtate of life; and if it pleaſed God to ſet me on dry land once more, I would return to my parents, implore their forgiveneſs, and bid a final adieu to my wandering inclinations.

Such were my thoughts while the ſtorm continued; but theſe good reſolutions decreaſed with the danger. More eſpecially, when my companion came to me, clapping me on the ſhoulder: *What*, Bob! ſaid he, *ſure you was not frightned laſt night with ſcarce a cap-full of wind?----And do you*, cry'd I, *call ſuch a violent ſtorm a cap-full of wind? A ſtorm you fool you*, ſaid he, *this is nothing; a good ſhip and ſea-room always baffle ſuch a fooliſh ſquall of wind as that: But you're a freſh-water ſailor: come, boy, turn out, ſee what fine weather we have now, and a good bowl of punch will drown all your paſt ſorrows.* In ſhort, the punch was made, I was drunk, and in one night's time drowned both my repentance and my good reſolutions, entirely forgetting the vows and promiſes I made in my diſtreſs: And whenever any reflections would return on me, what by company and drinking, I ſoon maſtered thoſe fits, as I deridingly called them. But this only made

made way for another trial, whereby I could not but ſee how much I was beholden to kind Providence.

Upon the ſixth day, we came to an anchor in *Harwich* road, where we lay wind-bound with ſome *Newcaſtle* ſhips; and there being good anchorage, and our cables ſound, the ſeamen forgot their late toil and danger, and ſpent their time as merry as if they had been on ſhore. But on the eighth day there aroſe ſuch a briſk gale of wind, which prevented our tiding it up the river, and ſtill increaſing, our ſhip rid fore-caſtle in, having ſhipped ſeveral large ſeas.

It was not long before horror ſeized the ſeamen themſelves, when I heard the maſter expreſs this melancholly ejaculation, *Lord have mercy upon us, we ſhall be all loſt and undone!* For my part, ſick unto death, I kept my cabin, till the univerſal and moſt dreadful apprehenſions among us of our ſpeedy fate, made me get up upon deck; and there I was dreadfully affrighted indeed: The ſea went mountains high: I could ſee nothing but diſtreſs around us: Two ſhips had cut their maſts on board, and another was foundered: Two more, that had loſt their anchors, were forced out to the mercy of the ocean; and to ſave our lives, we were forced to cut our fore-maſt and main-maſt quite away.

Who is there ſo ignorant as not to judge of my dreadful condition? I was but a freſh water ſailor, and therefore it ſeemed more terrible. Our ſhip was very good, but too much loaden, which made the ſailors often cry out, *She would founder*; words I then was ignorant of! All this while the ſtorm continuing, the maſter and the more ſober part of his men went to prayers, expecting death every moment. In the middle of the night one cried out, *We had ſpring a leak*; another, *That there was four foot water in the hold.* I was juſt ready to expire with fear,

fear, when immediately all hands were called to the pump; and the men forced me alſo in that extremity to ſhare with them in their labour. While thus employed, the maſter eſpying ſome light colliers, fired a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs; which I not underſtanding what it meant, and thinking that either the ſhip broke, or ſome dreadful thing happened, fell into a ſwoon; but in that common condition of woe, nobody minded me, excepting to thruſt me aſide with their feet, thinking me dead, and it was a great while before I recovered.

Happy it was for us, when upon the ſignal given, they ventured out their boats to ſave our lives. All our pumping had been in vain, and vain had their attempts been, had they not come to our ſhip's ſide, when our men caſt them a rope over a-ſtern with a buoy to it, which after great labour they got hold of, and we hawling them to us, got into their boat. So leaving our ſhip, we perceived it ſink in leſs than a quarter of an hour, by which I knew what was *foundering at ſea*. And now the men inceſſantly laboured to recover their own ſhip, but the ſea ran ſo high, and the wind blowing hard, they thought it convenient to hawl within ſhore; which with great difficulty and danger at laſt we happily affected, landing at a place called *Gromer*, not far from *Winterton* light-houſe: From whence we all walked to *Yarmouth*, where, as objects of pity, many good people furniſhed us with neceſſaries for our ſubſiſtance either to *Hull* or *London*.

'Tis ſtrange, that after all this, like the Prodigal Son, I did not return to my father; who hearing of the ſhip's calamity, for a long time thought me entombed in the deep. No doubt but I ſhould have *ſhared in his fatted calf*, as the ſcripture expreſſeth it: But my ill fate ſtill puſhed me on, in ſpite of the powerful conviction of reaſon and conſcience.

When

When I had been at *Yarmouth* three days, I met my old companion, who had given me the invitation to go on-board along with his father. His behaviour and ſpeech was altered, and in a melancholy manner aſked me how I did, telling his father who I was, and how I had made this voyage for a trial only to proceed farther abroad: Upon which the old gentleman turning to me gravely ſaid, *Young man, you ought never to go to ſea any more, but to take this for a certain ſign that you will never proſper in a ſea-faring condition.* Sir, *anſwered I*, will you take the ſame reſolution? *'Tis a different caſe*, ſaid he, *'tis my calling, and conſequently my duty; but as you have made this voyage for a trial, you ſee what ill ſucceſs heaven has ſet before your eyes; and perhaps our miſeries have been on your account, like* Jonah *in the ſhip of* Tarſhiſh: *but pray what are you and on what account did you go to ſea?* Upon which I very freely declared my whole ſtory; at the end of which he made this exclamation, Ye ſacred powers! what had I committed, that ſuch a wretch ſhould enter into my ſhip to heap upon me ſuch a deluge of miſeries! But ſoon recollecting his paſſions, *Young man*, ſaid he, *depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with diſaſters and diſappointments, till your fathers words are fulfilled upon you.* And ſo we parted.

I thought at firſt to return home, but ſhame oppoſed that good motion, as thinking I ſhould be laughed at by my neighbours and acquaintance. So ſtrange is the nature of youth, who are not aſhamed to ſin but yet aſhamed to repent; and far from being aſhamed of thoſe actions for which they may be accounted fools, think it folly in returning to their duty, which is the principal mark of wiſdom. In ſhort I travelled up to *London*, reſolved upon a voyage; and a voyage I ſoon heard of, by my acquaintance with a captain who took a fancy to me, to go

to

to the coaſt of *Guinea*. Having ſome money, and appearing like a gentleman, I went on board, not as a common ſailor or fore-maſt-man; nay, the commander agreed I ſhould go that voyage with him without any expence; that I ſhould be his meſs-mate and companion; and I was very welcome to carry any thing with me, and make the beſt merchandize I could.

I bleſſed my happy fortune, and humbly thanked my Captain for his offer; when acquainting my friends in *Yorkſhire*, forty pounds were ſent me, the greateſt part of which I believe my dear father and mother contributed to; and with which I bought toys and trifles as the captain directed me. My captain alſo learned me navigation, how to keep an account of the ſhip's courſe, take an obſervation, and led me into the knowledge of ſeveral uſeful branches of the mathematics. And indeed this voyage made me both a ſailor and merchant: For I brought home 5 pounds 9 ounces of gold duſt for my adventure, which produced at my return to *London*, almoſt three hundred pounds. But in this voyage I was extremely ſick being thrown into a violent calenture, through exceſſive heat, trading upon the coaſt, from the latitude of 15 degrees north, even to the line itſelf.

But alas! my dear friend the captain ſoon departed this life after his arrival. This was a ſenſible grief to me; yet I reſolved to go another voyage with his mate, who had now got command of the ſhip. But this proved unſucceſsful; for though I did not carry quite 100*l.* of my late acquired wealth, ſo that I had 200*l.* left, which I depoſited with the captain's widow, who was an honeſt gentlewoman, yet my misfortunes in this voyage were very great upon me; for our ſhip ſailing towards the *Canary* iſlands, we were chaſed by a *Salee* rover; and in ſpite of all the ſail we could make, by crowding as much can-

vaſs

vaſs as our yards would ſpread, or maſts carry, the pyrate gained upon us, and ſo we prepared ourſelves to fight. They had 18 guns, and we had but 12. About three in the afternoon there was a deſperate engagement, wherein many were killed and wounded on both ſides; but finding ourſelves overpowered with numbers, our ſhip diſabled, and ourſelves too impotent to have the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, we were forced to ſurrender, and accordingly were all carried into the port of *Salee*. Our men were ſent to the Emperor's court to be ſold there; but the pyrate captain taking notice of me, kept me to be his own ſlave.

In this condition I thought myſelf the moſt miſerable creature on earth, and the propheſy of my father came afreſh into my thoughts. As it happened, my condition was better than I thought it to be, as will ſoon appear. Some hopes indeed I had, that my new patron would go to ſea again, where he might be taken by a *Spaniſh* or *Portugal* man of war, and then I ſhould be ſet at liberty. But in this I was miſtaken, for he never took me with him, but left me to look after his little garden, and do the drudgery of his houſe; and when he returned from ſea, would make me lie in the cabin, and look after the ſhip. I had no one that I could communicate my thoughts to, which were continually meditating my eſcape; no *Engliſhman*, *Iriſhman*, or *Scotchman* here, but myſelf; and for two years I could ſee nothing practicable, but only pleaſe myſelf with the imagination.

After ſome length of time, my patron, as I found, grew ſo poor, that he could not fit out his ſhip as uſual: And then he uſed conſtantly, once or twice a week, if the weather was fair, to go out a fiſhing, taking me and a young *Moreſco* boy to row the boat; and ſo much pleaſed was he with me for my dexterity in catching the fiſh, that he would often

often ſend me with a *Moor*; who was one of his kinſmen, and the *Moreſco* youth, to catch a diſh of fiſh for him.

One morning, as we were at the ſport, there aroſe ſuch a thick fog, that we loſt ſight of the ſhore; and rowing we know not which way, we laboured all the night, and in the morning found ourſelves in the ocean, two leagues from land; however, we attained there at length, and we made the greater haſte, becauſe our ſtomachs were exceeding ſharp and hungry. But the better to prevent ſuch diſaſters, my patron ordered a carpenter to build a little ſtate-room or cabin in the middle of the long-boat, with a place behind it to ſteer and hawl home the main-ſheet, with other conveniencies, to keep him from the weather, as alſo lockers to put in all manner of proviſions; with a handſome ſhoulder of mutton ſail, gibing over the cabin.

In this he frequently took us a fiſhing; and one time inviting two or three perſons of diſtinction to go with him, made proviſion extraordinary, providing alſo three fuzees, with powder and ſhot, that they might have ſome ſport at fowling along the ſea coaſt. The next morning, the boat being clean, her antients and pendents out, and every thing ready, their minds altering, my patron ordered us to go a fiſhing, for that his gueſts would certainly ſup with him that night.

And now I began to think of my deliverance indeed: In order to this, I perſuaded the *Moor* to get ſome proviſions on board, as not daring to meddle with our patron's; who, taking my advice, we ſtored ourſelves with ruſk biſcuit, and three jars of water; beſides, I privately conveyed into the boat a bottle of brandy, ſome twine, thread, a hammer, hatchet, and a ſaw; in particular ſome bees-wax, which was a great comfort to me, and ſerved to make candles. I then perſuaded *Muley* (for ſo

was the *Moor* called) to procure ſome powder and ſhot, pretending to kill ſea curlieus, to which he innocently and readily agreed. And in ſhort, being provided with all things neceſſary, we ſailed out, reſolving for my own part to make my eſcape, though it might coſt me my life.

When we had paſſed the caſtle, we fell to fiſhing; but though I knew there was a bite, I diſſembled the matter, in order to put farther out to ſea. Accordingly we ran a league farther; when giving the boy the helm, and pretending to ſtoop for ſomething, I ſeized *Muley* by ſurpriſe, and threw him over-board. He was an excellent ſwimmer, ſoon aroſe, and made towards the boat; upon which I took out a fuzee, and preſented it at him: *Muley*, ſaid I, *I never yet deſigned to do you any harm, and ſeek nothing now but my redemption. I know you are able enough to ſwim to ſhore and ſave your life; but if you are reſolved to follow me, to the endangering of mine, the very moment you proceed I will ſhoot you through the head.* The harmleſs creature, at theſe words, turned himſelf from me, and I make no doubt got ſafe to land. Then turning to the boy *Xury*, I perceived he trembled at the action; but I put him out of all fear, telling him, that if he would be true and faithful to me, I would do well by him: *And therefore*, ſaid I, *you muſt ſtroke your face to be faithful, and, as the* Turks *have learnt you, ſwear by* Mahomet, *and the beard of your father, or elſe I will throw you into the ſea alſo.* So innocent did the child then look, and with ſuch an obliging ſmile, conſented, that I readily believed him, and, from that day forward, began to love him entirely.

Thus we purſued our voyage, and that they ſhould think me gone to the *Straits* mouth, I kept to the ſouthward to the truly *Barbarian* coaſt; but in the duſk of the evening, I changed my courſe, and ſteered directly S. by E. that I might keep near

the

hore; and having a freſh gale of wind, with a
ant ſmooth ſea, by three o'clock the next day
150 miles beyond the Emperor of *Morocco*'s
nions. Yet ſtill having the dreadful apprehen-
of being retaken, I continued ſailing for five
ſucceſſively, till ſuch time as the wind ſhifting
e ſouthward, made me conclude, that if any
was in chaſe of me they would proceed no
er: And after ſo much fatigue and thought, I
ored in the mouth of a little river, I knew not
, or where; neither did I then ſee any people.
t I principally wanted was freſh water; and I
reſolved, about duſkiſh, to ſwim aſhore. But
oner did the gloomy clouds of night begin to
ed the declining day, when then it was we heard
barking, roaring, and howling of wild crea-
, that one might have thought the very ſtran-
monſters of nature, or infernal ſpirits, had their
nce there. Poor *Xury*, almoſt dead with fear,
ated me not to go on ſhore that night. *Sup-*
I dont, Xury, ſaid I, *and in the morning we*
ſee men, who are worſe than thoſe we fear; *what*
O den we may give dem de ſhoot gun, replied
laughing, *and de gun make dem all run away.*
wit, and broken *Engliſh*, which the boy had
t from the captives of our nation, pleaſed me
ely, and to add to his chearfulneſs, I gave him a
of the bottle: We could get but little ſleep all
ight for the terrible howlings they made; and
d we were both affrighted very much, when,
he rowling of the water, and other tokens, we
y concluded one of thoſe monſters made towards
oat; I could not ſee it till it came within two
length, when, taking my fuzee, I let fly at
: Whether I hit him or no, I cannot tell; but
ade towards the ſhore, and the noiſe of my gun
aſed the ſtupenduous noiſe of the monſters.

The next morning, I was reſolved to go on ſhore to get freſh water, and venture my life among beaſts or ſavages, ſhould either attack me. *Xury* ſaid he would take one of the jars and bring me ſome. I aſked him why he would go, and not I. The poor boy anſwered, *if wild mans come, they eat me, you go away.* A mind ſcarcely now to be imitated, ſo contrary to ſelf-preſervation, the moſt powerful law of nature! This indeed encreaſed my affection to the child. *Well, dear* Xury, ſaid I, *we will both go aſhore, both eat wild mans, and they ſhall eat neither of us.* So giving *Xury* a piece of ruſk bread to eat, and a dram, we waded aſhore, carrying nothing with us but our arms, and two jars for water. I did not go out of ſight of the boat, as dreading the ſavages coming down the river in their canoes. But the boy ſeeing a low deſcent, or vale, about a mile in the country, he wandered to it; and then running back to me with great precipitation, I thought he was purſued by ſome ſavage or wild beaſt, upon which I approached, reſolving to periſh or protect him from danger. As he came nearer to me, I ſaw ſomething hanging over his ſhoulders, which was a creature he had ſhot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were glad of it, for it proved wholeſome nouriſhing meat; but what added to our joy was, my boy aſſured me there was plenty of water, and that he *ſee no wild mans:* And greater ſtill was our comfort, when we found freſh water in the creek, where we were, when the tide was out, without going ſo far up into the country.

In this place I began to conſider that the *Canary* and the *Cape de Verd* iſlands lay not far off; but having no inſtrument, I knew not what latitude, or when to ſtand off to ſea for them; yet my hopes were, I ſhould meet ſome of the *Engliſh* trading veſſels, who would relieve and take us up.

The

The place I was in was, no doubt, that wild ſort of country, inhabited only by a few, that lies between the Emperor of *Morocco*'s dominions and the *Negroes*: It was filled with wild beaſts, and the *Moors* uſe it for hunting chiefly. From this place I thought I ſaw the top of the mountain *Teneriffe*, in the *Canaries*; which made me try twice to attain it, but as often was I drove back, and ſo forced to purſue my fortune along the ſhore.

Early one morning we came to an anchor under a little point of land, but pretty high, and the tide beginning to flow, we lay ready to go farther in: But *Xury*, whoſe youthful and penetrating eyes were ſharper than mine, in a ſoft tone, deſired me to keep far from land, leſt we ſhould be devoured: *For look yonder, Meyter*, ſaid he, *and ſee de dreadful monſter faſt aſleep on the ſide of the hill.* Accordingly, looking where he pointed, I eſpied a fearful monſter indeed; it was a terrible great lion that lay on ſhore, covered as it were by the ſhade of a piece of the hill. *Xury*, ſaid I, *you ſhall go on ſhore and kill him.* But the boy looked amazed: *Me kill him*, ſays he, *he eat me at one mouth*; meaning one mouthful. Upon which I bid him lie ſtill, and charging my biggeſt gun with two ſlugs, and a good charge of powder, I took the beſt aim I could to ſhoot him through the head; but his leg lying over his noſe, the ſlug broke his knee-bone. The lion, awaking with the pain, got up, but ſoon fell down, giving the moſt hideous groan I ever heard: But taking my ſecond piece, I ſhot him thro' the head, and then he lay ſtruggling for life. Upon this *Xury* took heart, and deſired my leave to go on ſhore. *Go then*, ſaid I. Upon which, taking a little gun in one hand, he ſwam to ſhore with the other, and coming cloſe to the Lion, put a period to his life, by ſhooting him again through the head.

But this was ſpending our ammunition in vain, the fleſh not being good to eat. *Xury* was like a cham-

pion, and comes on board for a hatchet, to cut off the head of his enemy; which not having ſtrength to perform, cut off a foot. But I bethought myſelf that his ſkin would be of great uſe, which coſt *Xury* and I a whole day's work; when ſpreading it on the top of our cabin, the hot beams of the ſun ſo effectually dried it, in two days time, that it afterwards ſerved me for a bed to lie upon.

And now we ſailed ſouthwardly, living ſparingly on our proviſions, and went no oftener on ſhore than we were obliged for freſh water. My deſign was to make the river *Gambia* or *Senegal*, or any where about the *Cape de Verd*, in hopes to meet ſome *European* ſhip. If Providence did not ſo favour, my next courſe was to ſeek for the iſlands, or loſe my life among the *Negroes*. And, in a word, I put my whole ſtreſs upon this, *either that I muſt meet with ſome ſhip, or certainly periſh.*

But, as we were ſailing along, we ſaw people ſtand on the ſhore to look at us; we could alſo perceive they were black and ſtark naked. I was inclined to go on ſhore; but *Xury* cried, *No, no*; however, I approached nearer, and I found they run along the ſhore by me a good way: They had no weapons in their hands, except one, who held a long ſtick, which *Xury* told me was a lance, with which they could kill at a great diſtance. I talked to them by ſigns, and made them ſenſible I wanted ſomething to eat: They beckoned to me to ſtop my boat; while two of them run up into the country, and in leſs than half an hour came back and brought with them two pieces of dry fleſh, and ſome corn, which we kindly accepted; and to prevent any fears of either ſide, they brought the food to the ſhore, laid it down, then went and ſtood a great way off, till we fetched it on board, and then came cloſe to us again.

But while we were returning thanks to them, being all we could offer, two mighty creatures came from

from the mountains, one as it were purſuing the other with great fury, which we were inclined to believe, becauſe they ſeldom appear but in the night; and both theſe ſwiftly paſſing by the *Negroes*, jumped into the ſea, wantonly ſwimming about, as though the diverſion of the waters had put a ſtop to their fierceneſs. At laſt, one of them coming nearer my boat than I expected or deſired, I ſhot him directly through the head; upon which he ſunk immediately, yet riſing again, would have willingly made to the ſhore; but between the wound and the ſtrangling of the water, he died before he could reach it.

It is not poſſible for me to expreſs the conſternation the poor *Negroes* were in at the firing my gun; much leſs can I mention their ſurpriſe, when they perceived the creature to be ſlain by it. I made ſigns to them to draw near it, and then gave them a rope to hale it on ſhore. It was a beautiful leopard, which made me deſire its ſkin; and the *Negroes* ſeeming to covet the carcaſe, I very freely gave it to them. As for the other leopard, it made to ſhore, and ran with a prodigious ſwiftneſs out of ſight. The *Negroes* having kindly furniſhed me with water and with what roots and grain their country afforded, I took my leave, and after eleven days ſail, I came in ſight of the *Cape de Verd*, and thoſe iſlands called by its name. But the great diſtance I was from it, and fearing contrary winds would prevent my reaching either of them, I grew melancholy and dejected; when, on a ſudden, *Xury* cried out, *Maſter, Maſter, a ſhip with a ſail*; and looked ſo frightened, as if it was his maſter's ſhip ſent in ſearch of us: But I ſoon diſcovered ſhe was a *Portugueze* ſhip, and, as I thought, bound to the coaſt of *Guinea*, for *Negroes*. Upon which I ſtrove for life to come up to them; but vain had it been, if, through their perſpective glaſſes, they had not perceived me, and ſhortened their ſail to let me come up.

Encouraged

Encouraged at this, I ſet up my patron's antient, and fired a gun, both as ſignals of diſtreſs; upon which they very kindly lay to; ſo that in three hours time I came up with them. They ſpoke to me in *Portugueſe*, *Spaniſh*, and *French*, but neither of theſe did I underſtand; till at length a *Scots* ſailor called, and then I told him I was an *Engliſhman*, who had eſcaped from the *Moors* of *Sallee*; upon which they took me kindly on board, with all my effects.

Surely none can expreſs that inconceivable joy my heart felt at this my happy deliverance; who, from being a miſerable and forlorn creature, was not only relieved, but in favour with the maſter of the ſhip, whom in return for my deliverance I offered all I had to him; *God forbid*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould take any thing from you, every thing ſhall be delivered to you when you come to* Braſil: *If I have ſaved your life, it is no more than I ſhould expect to receive myſelf from any other, when in the ſame circumſtances, I ſhould happen to meet the like deliverance; and ſhould I take from you what you have, and leave you at* Braſil, *why this would be only taking away a life I have given; my charity teaches me better; thoſe effects you have will ſupport you there, and provide you a paſſage home again.* And indeed he acted with the ſtricteſt juſtice in what he did, taking my things into his poſſeſſion, and giving me an exact inventory, even to my earthen jars. He bought my boat of me for the ſhip's uſe, giving me a note of eighty pieces of eight, payable at *Braſil*, and if any body offered more he would make it up. He alſo gave me ſixty pieces for my boy *Xury*. It was with great reluctance I was prevailed upon to ſell the child's liberty, who had ſerved me ſo faithfully; but the boy himſelf was willing, and it was agreed, that after ten years, he ſhould be made free, upon his renouncing *Mahometaniſm* and embracing Chriſtianity.

Having a pleaſant voyage to the *Braſils*, we arrived

rived in the *Bay de Todos los Santos*, or *All-Saints Bay*, in about 22 days after. And here I cannot forget the generous treatment of the captain; he would take nothing for my paſſage, gave me 20 ducats for the leopard's ſkin, and 30 for the lion's: Every thing he cauſed to be delivered; and what I would ſell he bought. In ſhort, I made about 220 pieces of my cargo, and with this ſtock I entered once more, as I may ſay, into the *ſcene of life*.

Being recommended to an honeſt planter, I lived with him till ſuch time as I was informed of the manner of their planting and making ſugar; and ſeeing how well they lived, and how ſuddenly they grew rich, I was filled with an emulation, at leaſt, to ſettle among them, reſolving to get my money remitted to me, and to purchaſe me a plantation.

To be brief, I bought a ſettlement next door to an honeſt and kind neighbour, born at *Liſbon*, of *Engliſh* parents, whoſe plantation joining to mine, we improved it very amicable together: Both our ſtocks were low, and for two years we planted only for food: But the third year we planted ſome tobacco, preparing each a large piece of ground for planting canes the enſuing year; but now wanting aſſiſtance, I repented the loſs of my dear boy *Xury*.

Here having none to aſſiſt me, my father's words came again into my mind; and if only a middle ſtation of life I ſought, why could it not as well be obtained in *England* as here? When I pondered of this with regret, the thoughts of my late deliverance forſook me; I had none to converſe with but my neighbour; no work to be done but by my own hands; and this often made me ſay, my condition was like that of a man caſt upon a deſolate iſland. So unhappy are we in our reflections, ſo forgetful what good things we receive ourſelves, and ſo unthankful for our deliverance from thoſe calamities that others endure.

I was

of cruel *Savages*, or the paws of devouring beaſts of prey.

In this great diſtreſs, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out, *Land, Land!* when no ſooner looking out, but our ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand, and in a moment the ſea broke over in ſuch a manner, that we expected we ſhould all have periſhed immediately. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land we were driven; whether an iſland or the main; inhabited or not inhabited; and we could not ſo much as hope that the ſhip would hold many minutes, without breaking in pieces, except the wind, by a miracle, ſhould turn about immediately. While we ſtood looking at one another, expecting death every moment, the mate laid hold of the boat, and, with the help of the reſt, got her flung over the ſhip's ſide, and getting all into her, being eleven of us, committed ourſelves to God's mercy, and the wild ſea. And now we ſaw that this laſt effort would not be a ſufficient protection from death; ſo high did the ſea run, that it was impoſſible the boat ſhould live. As to making ſail, we had none; neither, if we had, could we make uſe of any. So that when we had rowed, or rather were driven about a league and a half, a raging wave, like a lofty mountain, came rowling aſtern of us, and took us with ſuch fury, that at once it overſet the boat. Thus being ſwallowed up in a moment, we had hardly time to call upon the tremendous name of God; much leſs to implore, in dying ejaculations, his infinite mercy, to receive our departing ſouls.

Men are generally counted inſenſible, when ſtruggling in the pangs of death; but while I was overwhelmed with water, I had the moſt dreadful apprehenſions imaginable; for the joys of heaven, and torments of hell, ſeemed to preſent themſelves before me in theſe dying agonies, and even in the ſmall ſpace of time, as it were, between life and death. I was going,

going, I thought, I knew not whither, in a diſmal gulf unknown, and as yet unperceived, never to behold my friends, nor the light of this world any more! Could I even have thought annihilation, or a total diſſolution of ſoul as well as body, the gloomy thoughts of having no further being, no knowledge of what we hoped for, but an eternal quietus, without life or ſenſe; even that, I ſay, would have been enough to ſtrike me with horror and confuſion! But ſtriving to the laſt extremity, while I thought all my companions were overpowered and entombed in the deep, it was with great difficulty I kept my breath till the wave ſpent itſelf, and retiring back, left me on the ſhore half dead with the water I had taken in. However, I got on my feet as faſt as I could, leſt another wave ſhould purſue, and carry me back again; but for all the haſte I made, I could not avoid it; for the ſea came after me like a high mountain, or furious enemy, ſo that my buſineſs was to hold my breath, and by raiſing myſelf on the water, preſerve it by ſwimming; the next dreadful wave buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep, but at the ſame time carried me with a mighty force and ſwiftneſs towards the ſhore; when raiſing myſelf, I held out as well as poſſible, 'till at length the water having ſpent itſelf, began to return, at which I ſtruck forward, and feeling ground with my feet, I took to my heels again; thus being ſerved twice more, I was at laſt daſhed againſt a piece of a rock, in ſuch a manner as left me ſenſeleſs; but recovering a little before the return of the waves, which, no doubt, then would have overwhelmed me, I held faſt by the rock till thoſe ſucceeding waves abated; and then, fetching another run, was overtook by a ſmall wave, which was ſoon conquered; but before any more could overtake me, I reached the main land, where clambering up the clifts of the ſhore, tired and almoſt ſpent, I ſat down on the graſs, free from the dangers of the foaming ocean.

No tongue can expreſs the ecſtaſies and tranſports that my ſoul felt at this happy deliverance, it was like a reprieve to a dying malefactor, with the halter about his neck, and ready to be turned off. I was wrapt up in contemplation, and often lifted up my hands, with the profoundeſt humility, to the divine Powers, for ſaving my life, when the reſt of my companions were all drowned. And now I began to caſt my eyes around, to behold what place I was in, and what I had next to do. I could ſee no houſe, nor people: I was wet, yet had no clothes to ſhift me; hungry and thirſty, yet nothing to eat or drink; no weapon to deſtroy any creature for my ſuſtenance, nor defend myſelf againſt devouring beaſts: In ſhort, I had nothing but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a box half filled with tobacco. The darkſome night coming upon me, increaſed my fears of being devoured by wild creatures; my mind was plunged in deſpair; and, having no proſpect, as I thought, of life before me, prepared for another kind of death than what I had lately eſcaped. I walked about a furlong to ſee if I could find any freſh water, which I did to my great joy, and taking a quid of tobacco to prevent hunger, I got up into a thick buſhy tree, and ſeating myſelf ſo that I could not fall, a deep ſleep overtook me, and for that night buried my ſorrows in a quiet repoſe.

It was broad day the next morning before I awaked; when not only I perceived the tempeſt was ceaſed, but the ſhip was driven almoſt as far as the rock beforementioned, where the waves had daſhed me againſt, and which was about a mile from the place where I was. When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I perceived the ſhip's boat two miles diſtant on my right hand, lying on ſhore, as the waves had caſt her. I thought to have got to her, but there being an inlet of water of about half a mile's breadth between it and me, I returned again towards

towards the ſhip, as hoping to find ſomething for my more immediate ſubſiſtance. About noon, when the ſea was calm, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of her, it was to my grief I perceived that if we had kept on board, all our lives had been ſaved. Theſe thoughts, and my ſolitude, drew tears from my eyes, though all in vain. So reſolving to get to the ſhip, I ſtript, and leapt into the water; when ſwimming round her, I was afraid I ſhould not get any thing to lay hold of; but it was my good fortune to eſpy a ſmall piece of rope hang down by the fore-chains ſo low, that with great difficulty, by the help of it, I got into the forecaſtle of the ſhip. Here I found that the ſhip was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; her ſtern was lifted up againſt a bank, and her head almoſt in the water: All her quarter, and what was there, were free and dry. The proviſions I found in good order, with which I crammed my pockets; and, loſing no time, eat while I was doing other things; I alſo found ſome rum, of which I took a hearty dram; and now I wanted for nothing except a boat, which indeed was all, to carry away what was needful for me.

Neceſſity occaſions quickneſs of thought. We had ſeveral ſpare yards, a ſpare topmaſt or two, and two or three large ſpars of wood: With theſe I fell to work, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage, tying every one of them with a rope that they might not drive away. This done, I went down the ſhip's ſide, and tied four of them faſt together at both ends, in form of a raft, and laying two or three ſhort pieces of plank upon them croſs-ways, I found it would bear me, but not any conſiderable weight. Upon which I went to work again, cutting a ſpare topmaſt into three lengths, adding them to my raft with a great deal of labour and pains. I then conſidered what I ſhould load it with,

it being not able to bear a ponderous burden. And this I ſoon thought of, firſt laying upon it all the planks and boards I could get; next I lowered down three of the ſeamens cheſts, after I had filled them with bread, rice, three *Dutch* cheeſes, five pieces of dried goat's fleſh, and ſome *European* corn, what little the rats had ſpared; but for the liquors, I found ſeveral caſes of bottles belonging to our ſkipper. In which were ſome cordial waters, and four or five gallons of rack, which I ſtowed by themſelves. By this time the tide beginning to flow, I perceived my coat, waiſtcoat, and ſhirt, ſwim away, which I had left on the ſhore; as for my linen breeches and ſtockings, I ſwam with them on to ſhip: But I ſoon found clothes enough, yet took no more than I wanted for the preſent. My eyes were chiefly on tools to work with; and after long ſearch I found out the carpenter's cheſt, which I got ſafe down on my raft: Then I looked for arms and ammunition, and, in the great cabin, found two good fowling-pieces, two piſtols, ſeveral powder-horns filled, a ſmall bag of ſhot, and two ruſty old ſwords. I alſo found three barrels of powder, two of which were good, but the third had taken water; with two or three broken oars, two ſaws, an axe, and a hammer, I put to ſea; and in getting to ſhore, I had three encouragements; 1. A ſmooth calm ſea. 2. The tide riſing and ſetting in to the ſhore. 3. The little wind there was blew towards land. But after I had ſailed about a mile, I found the raft to drive a little diſtance from the place where I firſt landed; and then I perceived a little opening of the land, with a ſtrong current of the tide running into it, upon which I kept in the middle of the ſtream: But great was my concern, when on a ſudden the fore-part of my raft run aground; ſo that had I not with great difficulty, for near half an hour,

kept

cept my back ſtraining againſt the cheſts, to keep my effects in their places, all I had would have gone into the ſea. But after ſome time, the riſing of the water cauſed the raft to float again, when coming up a little river, with land on both ſides, I landed in a little cove, as near the mouth as poſſible, the better to diſcover a ſail, if any ſuch providentially paſſed by that way.

Not far off, I ſpied a hill of a ſtupendous height, ſurrounded with leſſer hills about it: and thither I was reſolved to go and view the country, that I might ſee what part was the beſt place to fix my habitation in: Accordingly, arming myſelf with a piſtol, a fowling-piece, powder, and ball, I aſcended the mountain: There I perceived I was in an iſland encompaſſed by the ſea; no diſtant lands to be ſeen, but ſcattering rocks that lay to the weſt; that it ſeemed a barren place, and, as I thought, inhabited only by wild beaſts. I perceived abundance of fowls, but ignorant of what kind, or whether good for nouriſhment; I ſhot one of them at my return, which occaſioned a confuſed ſcreaming among the other birds; and I found it, by its colour and beak, to be a kind of hawk, but its fleſh was perfect carrion.

When I came to my raft, I brought my effects on ſhore, which work ſpent that day entirely; and fearing that ſome cruel beaſts might devour me in the night while I ſlept, I made a kind of a hut or barricade with the cheſts and boards I brought from ſhore. That night I ſlept very comfortably, and the next morning my thoughts were employed to make a further attempt on the ſhip, and bring away what neceſſaries I could find, before another ſtorm ſhould break her to-pieces. Accordingly I got on board as before, and prepared a ſecond raft, far more nice than the firſt; upon which I brought away the carpenter's ſtores, two or three bags full of nails, a

[illegible] crew, a dozen or two of hatchets, and [illegible]. I alſo took away ſeveral things that [illegible] the gunner, particularly two or three [illegible] two barrels of muſket-bullets, another [illegible], a ſmall quantity of powder, and a [illegible] of ſmall ſhot. Beſides theſe, I took [illegible] cakes I could find, a ſpare fore-top [illegible], and ſome bedding; and thus com- [illegible] ſecond cargo, I made all the haſte to [illegible] leſt ſome wild beaſt might deſtroy [illegible] already. But I only found a little [illegible] on one of the cheſts, who not ſeem- [illegible] at the gun that I preſented to her, I [illegible] piece of biſcuit, which ſhe inſtantly eat,

[illegible] got theſe effects on ſhore, I went [illegible] to make me a little tent with the [illegible] which I had cut for that purpoſe; [illegible] what things might be damaged [illegible] brought in, piling all the empty [illegible] in a circle, the better to fortify it [illegible] attempt of man or beaſt. After [illegible] the doors with ſome boards, and [illegible] turned the long way without. I [illegible] gun and piſtol: and laying my [illegible] down, ſlept as comfortably, till next [illegible] I had been in a Chriſtian country.

Now, though I had enough to ſubſiſt me a long [illegible] of getting of a ſudden deliverance, or that [illegible] ammunition and proviſion might be ſpent be- [illegible] ſuch a thing happened, I coveted as much as I could. And ſo long as the ſhip remained in that con- [illegible], I daily brought away one neceſſary or other; particularly the rigging, ſails, and cordage; ſome twine, a barrel of wet powder, ſome ſugar, a barrel of meal, three caſks of rum; and what indeed was moſt welcome to me, a whole hogſhead of bread.

The

The next time I went, I cut the cables in pieces, carried off a haulſer whole, with a great deal of iron-work, and made another raft with the mizen and ſprit-ſail yards, but this being ſo unweildy, by the too heavy burden I had upon it, and not being able dextrouſly to guide it as the former, both my cargo and I were overturned. For my part, all the damage I ſuſtained was a wet ſkin; and at low water, after much labour in diving, I got moſt of the cables, and ſome pieces of iron.

Thirteen days had I now been in the iſland, and eleven times on board, bringing away all that was poſſible; though, I believe, had the weather been calm, I ſhould have brought away the whole ſhip, piece by piece. As I was going the twelfth time, the wind began to riſe, however, I ventured at low water, and rummaging the cabin effectually, in a locker I found ſeveral razors, ſciſſers, and ſome dozens of knives and forks; and in another thirty-ſix pounds in pieces of eight, ſilver, and gold. *Ah! ſimple vanity*, ſaid I, *whom this world ſo much doats on, where is now thy virtue, thy excellency to me? You cannot procure me one thing needful, nor remove me from this deſolate iſland to a place of plenty: One of theſe knives, ſo meanly eſteemed, is to me more preferable than all this heap. E'en therefore remain where thou art, to ſink in the deep, as unregarded, even as a creature whoſe life is not worth preſerving.* Yet after all this exclamation, I wrapt it up in a piece of canvas, and began to think of making another raft; but ſoon I perceived the wind began to riſe, a freſh gale blowing from the ſhore, and the ſky overcaſt with clouds and darkneſs. So thinking a raft to be in vain, I let myſelf into the water with what things I had about me, and it was with much difficulty I got aſhore, when ſoon after it blew a fearful ſtorm.

That night I ſlept very contentedly in my little tent, ſurrounded with all my effects; but when I looked

looked out in the morning, no more ſhip was to be ſeen. This much ſurprized me for the preſent, yet when I conſidered I had loſt no time, abated no pains, and had got every thing uſeful out of her, I comforted myſelf in the beſt manner, and entirely ſubmitted to the will of Providence.

My next thoughts were, how I ſhould defend and ſecure myſelf from ſavages and wild beaſts, if any ſuch were in the iſland. At one time I thought of digging a cave; at another, I was for erecting a tent; and, in ſhort, I reſolved to do both: The manner or form of which will not, I hope, be unpleaſing to deſcribe.

When I conſidered the ground where I was; that it was mooriſh, and had no freſh water near it; my reſolutions were to ſearch for a ſoil healthy and well watered, where I might not only be ſheltered from the ſun's ſcorching heat, but be more conveniently ſituated, as well to be ſecured from wild men and beaſts of prey, as more eaſily to diſcover any diſtant ſail, ſhould it ever ſo happen.

And indeed it was not long before I had my deſire, I found a little plain near a riſing hill, the front towards which being as ſteep as a houſe-ſide nothing could deſcend on me from the top. On the ſide of this rock was a little hollow place, reſembling the entrance or door of a cave. Juſt before this place, on the circle of the green, I reſolved my tent ſhould ſtand. This plain did not much exceed 100 yards broad, and about twice as long, like a delightful green before my door, with a pleaſing, though irregular deſcent every way to the low grounds by the ſea-ſide, lying on the N. N. W. ſide of the hill, ſo that it was ſheltered from the exceſſive heat of the ſun. After this I drew a ſemicircle, containing ten yards in its ſemi-diameter, and twenty yards in the whole, driving down two rows of ſtrong ſtakes, not ſix inches from each other.

other. Then with the pieces of cable which I had cut on board, I regularly laid them in the circle between the piles up to their tops, which were more than five feet out of the earth, and after drove another row of piles looking within-ſide againſt them, between two or three feet high, which made me conclude it a little impregnable caſtle, from men and beaſts: And for my better ſecurity, I would have no door, but entered in and came out by the help of a ladder, which I alſo made.

Here was my fence and fortreſs, into which I carried all my riches, ammunition and ſtores. After which, working on the rock, what with the dirt and ſtones I dug out, I not only raiſed my ground two feet, but made a little cellar to my manſion-houſe; and this coſt me many days labour and pains. But one day in particular a ſhower of rain falling, thunder and lightning enſued, which put me in terror, leſt my powder ſhould take fire, and not only hinder my neceſſary ſubſiſtance from killing me food, but even blow up me and my habitation: To prevent which, I fell to making boxes and bags, in order to ſeparate it, having by me near 150 weight. And thus being eſtabliſhed as king of the iſland, every day I went out with my gun to ſee what I could kill that was fit to eat. I ſoon perceived numbers of goats, but very ſhy: Yet having watched them narrowly, and ſeeing I could better ſhoot off the rocks than when in the low grounds, I one day happened to ſhoot a ſhe-goat ſuckling a young kid; who not thinking its dam ſlain, ſtood by her unconcerned; and when I took the dead creature up, the young one followed me even to the incloſure. I lifted the kid over the pales, and would willingly have kept it alive; but finding it could not be brought to eat, I was forced to ſlay it alſo for my own ſubſiſtance.

Thus entered into a ſtrange ſcene of life, as ever any man was in, I had moſt melancholy apprehenſions

ſions concerning my deplorable condition; and many times the tears would plentifully run down my face, when I conſidered how I was debarred from all communication with human-kind. And whiſe ſome deſponding cogitations would ſeem to make me accuſe Providence, other good thoughts would interpoſe and reprove, after this manner: Well, ſuppoſing you are deſolate, is it not better to be ſo, than totally periſh? Why were you ſingled out to be ſaved, and the reſt deſtroyed? Why ſhould you complain, when not only your life is preſerved, but the ſhip driven even into your reach, in order to take what was neceſſary out of her for your ſubſiſtance? But to proceed. It was, by the account I kept, the 30th of *September*, when I firſt landed on this iſland: About twelve days after, fearing I ſhould loſe my reckoning of time, nay even forget the *Sabbath-days*, for want of pen, ink, and paper, I carved it with a knife upon a large poſt, in great letters, and ſetting it up, in the ſimilitude of a croſs, on the ſea-ſhore where I landed, viz. *I came on ſhore, Sept.* 30, 1659. Every day I cut a notch with my knife on the ſides of this ſquare poſt, and that on *Sabbath* was as long again as the reſt; and every day of the month as long again as that long one: In this manner I kept my kalendar, weekly, monthly, or yearly reckoning of time. But had I made a more ſtrict ſearch (as I did afterwards) I need not have ſet up this mark: For among the parcels belonging to the gunner, carpenter, and captain's mate, thoſe very things I wanted I found, particularly pens, ink, and paper; alſo two or three compaſſes, ſome mathematical inſtruments, dials, proſpective, books of navigation, three *Engliſh* Bibles, and ſeveral other good books, which I carefully put up. But here I cannot but call to mind our having a dog and two cats on board, whom I made inhabitants with me in my caſtle. But though one might think I had all the neceſſaries

as

as were desirable, yet still I found several things wanting. My ink was daily wasting; I wanted needles, pins, and thread, to mend or keep my clothes together; particularly a spade, pick-axe, or shovel, to remove the earth: It was a year before I finished my little bulwark; and having some intervals of relaxation, after my daily wandering abroad for provision, I drew up this plan alternately, as creditor and debtor, to remind me of the miseries and blessings of my life, under so many various circumstances.

EVIL.	GOOD.
I am cast upon a desolate island, having no hopes, no prospect of a welcome deliverance.	*But yet I am preserved, while my companions are perished in the raging ocean.*
Thus miserably am I singled out from the enjoyment or company of all mankind.	*Yet set apart to be spared from death! and he who has so preserved me can deliver me from this condition*
Like an hermit (rather should I say, a lovely anchorite) am I forced from human conversation.	*However I have food to eat, and even a happy prospect of subsistance whilst life endures.*
My clothes, after some time, will be worn out; and then I shall have none to cover me.	*At present I enjoy what is absolute needful; and the climate is so hot, that, had I ever so many, I should hardly wear them.*
When my ammunition is wasted, then shall I remain without any defence against wild men and beasts.	*Yet if it does, I see no danger of any to hurt me, as in* Africk: *And what if I had been cast away on that coast?*
I have no creature, no soul to speak to; none to beg assistance from. Some comfort would it be to resound my woes where I am understood;	*Is there not God to converse to, and is not he able to relieve thee? Already has he afforded thee sustenance, and*

underſtood; and beg aſſiſtance, where I might hope for relief. | *and put it in thy power to provide for thyſelf till he ſends thee a deliverance.*

And now eaſing my mind a little by theſe reflections, I began to render my life as eaſy as poſſible. I muſt here add, to the deſcription I have given of my habitation, that having raiſed a turf wall againſt the outſide of it, I thatched it ſo cloſe, as might keep it from the inclemency of the weather. I alſo improved it within, enlarged my cave, and made a paſſage and door in the rock, which came out beyond the pale of my fortification. I next proceeded to make a chair and table, and ſo began to ſtudy thoſe mechanical arts that ſeemed to me practicable: For when I wanted a plank or board, I hewed down a tree with my hatchet, making it as thin with my axe as poſſible, and then ſmooth enough with my adze to anſwer my deſigns; yet this way could I make no more than one board out of a tree: But in length of time, I got boards enough to ſhelter all my ſtores, every thing being regularly placed, and my guns ſecurely hanging againſt the ſide of the rock. All this made it a very pleaſant ſight to me, being the reſult of vaſt labour and diligence; which leaving for a while, and me to the enjoyment of, I ſhall give the reader an account of my Journal from the day of my landing, till the fixing and ſettling of my habitation, as heretofore ſhewn.

JOURNAL.

September 30, 1659. I unhappy *Robinſon Cruſoe*, having ſuffered ſhipwreck, was driven on this deſolate iſland, which I named the *Deſolate Iſland of Deſpair*, the reſt being ſwallowed up in the tempeſtuous ocean. The next day I ſpent in conſideration of my unhappy circumſtances, having no proſpect, but

but of death, either to be ſtarved with hunger, or devoured by beaſts or mercileſs ſavages.

Octob. 1. That morning, with great comfort, I beheld the ſhip drove aſhore. Some hopes I had, that when the ſtorm was abated, I might be able to get ſome food and neceſſaries out of her; which I conceived were not damaged, becauſe the ſhip did ſtand upright. At this time I lamented the loſs of my companions, and our misfortune in leaving the veſſel. When I perceived the ſhip, as it were, lie dry, I waded through the ſands, then ſwam aboard, the weather being very rainy, and with ſcarcely any wind.

To the 24th of this month, my time was employed in making voyages, every tide getting what I could out of the ſhip. The weather very wet and uncertain.

Octob. 20. My raft, and all the goods thereon, were overſet; yet I recovered moſt again at low water.

Octob. 25. It blew hard, and rained night and day, when the ſhip diſſolved in pieces, ſo that nothing was ſeen of her but the wreck at low water. This day I ſecured my goods from the inclemency of the weather.

Octob. 26. I wandered to ſee where I could find a place convenient for my abode. I fixed upon a rock in the evening, marked out a half-moon, intending to erect a wall, fortified with piles, lined within with pieces of cables, and covered with turf.

Nov. 1. I erected my tent under a rock; and took up my lodging very contentedly in a hammock that night.

Nov. 2. This day I fenced myſelf in with timber, cheſts, and boards.

Nov. 3. I ſhot two wild fowl, reſembling ducks, which were good to eat; and in the afternoon made me a table.

Nov. 4. I began to live regularly: In the morning, I allowed myſelf two or three hours to walk out with my gun; then work till near 11 o'clock: and after refreſh myſelf with what I had to eat. From 12 to 2 I would lie down to ſleep. Extreme ſultry weather: in the evening go to work again.

Nov. 5. Went out with my gun and dog, ſhot a wild cat with a ſoft ſkin, but her fleſh was good for nothing. The ſkins of thoſe I killed I preſerved. In my return I perceived many wild birds, and was terrified by ſome ſeals, which made off to ſea.

Nov. 6. Completed my table.

Nov. 7. Fair weather. I worked till the 12th, but omitted the 11th, which, according to my calculation, I ſuppoſed to be *Sunday*.

Nov. 13. Rain in abundance, which however much cooled the earth, when thunder and lightning cauſed in me a terrible ſurprize. The weather clearing, in ſeparate parcels I ſecured my powder.

Nov. 14 to 16. I made little boxes for my powder, lodging them in ſeveral places. I alſo ſhot a large fowl, which proved excellent meat.

Nov. 17. I began to dig in the rock, yet was obliged to deſiſt for want of a pick-axe, ſhovel, and wheelbarrow. Iron crows I cauſed to ſupply the place of the firſt, but with all my art couldnot make a wheelbarrow.

Nov. 18. It was my fortune to find a tree, reſembling what the *Braſilians* call an iron tree. I had like to have ſpoiled my axe with cutting it, being very hard and exceeding heavy; yet with much labour and induſtry I made a ſort of a ſpade out of it.

Nov. 23. Theſe tools being made, I daily carried on my buſineſs, eighteen days I allowed for enlarging my cave, that it might ſerve me not only for a warehouſe, but kitchen, parlour, and cellar. I commonly lay in the tent unleſs the weather was rainy that I could not lie dry. So wet would it be at certain ſeaſons, that I was obliged to cover all within

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the pale with long poles in the form of rafters leaning againſt the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees reſembling a thatch.

Dec. 10. No ſooner did I think my habitation finiſhed, but ſuddenly a great deal of the top broke in, ſo that it was a mercy I was not buried in the ruins. This occaſioned a great deal of pains and trouble to me, before I could make it firm and durable.

Dec. 17. I nailed up ſome ſhelves, and drove nails and ſtaples in the wall and poſts to hang things out of the way.

Dec. 20. Every thing I got into its place, then made a ſort of a dreſſer, and another table.

Dec. 24, 25. Rain in abundance.

Dec. 26. Very fair weather.

Dec. 27. I chanced to light on ſome goats, ſhot one, wounded another. I led it home in a ſtring, bound up his leg, and cured it in a little time; at length it became ſo tame and familiar, as to feed before the door, and follow me where I pleaſed. This put me in mind to bring up tame creatures, in order to ſupply me with food after my ammunition was ſpent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. The weather being exceſſive hot, with little air, obliged me for the moſt part to keep within doors.

Jan. 1. Still ſultry. However, obliged by neceſſity, I went out with my gun, and found a great ſtore of goats in the vallies; they were exceeding ſhy, nor could my dog hunt them down.

Jan. 3, to 14. My employment this time was to finiſh the wall before deſcribed, and ſearch the iſland. I diſcovered a kind of pigeons like our houſe pigeons, in a neſt among the rocks: I brought them home, nurs'd them till they could fly, and then they left me. After this I ſhot ſome which proved excellent food. Some time I ſpent vainly in contriving to make a caſk; I may well ſay it was vain, becauſe

I could neither join the ſtaves, or fix the heads, ſo, as to make it tight. Then taking ſome goat's tallow I had by me, and a little *okum* for the wick, I provided myſelf with a lamp, which ſerved me inſtead of candles.

But now a very ſtrange event happened: For being in the height of my ſearch, what ſhould come into my hand, but a bag, which was uſed to hold corn (as I ſuppoſed) for the fowls: So immediately reſolving to put gunpowder in it, I ſhook all the huſks and dirt upon one ſide of the rock, little ſuſpecting what the conſequence would be. The rain had fallen plentifully a few days before; and about a month after, to my great amazement, ſomething began to ſpout out very green and flouriſhing: And when I came to view it more nicely, every day, as it grew, I found about 10 or 12 ears of green barley appeared, in the very ſame ſhape and make as that in *England*.

I can ſcarce expreſs the agitations of my mind at this ſight. Hitherto I had looked upon the actions of this life, no otherwiſe than only as the events of blind chance and fortune: But now, the appearance of this barley, flouriſhing in a barren ſoil to the ſort of grain, and my ignorance in not conceiving how it ſhould come there, made me conclude *that miracles were not yet ceaſed:* Nay, I even thought that God had appointed it to grow there without any ſeed, purely for my ſuſtenance in this miſerable and deſolate iſland. And indeed ſuch great effect had this upon me, that it often made me melt into tears, thro' a grateful ſenſe of God's mercies; and the greater ſtill was my thankfulneſs, when I perceived about this little field of barley ſome rice ſtalks, wonderfully flouriſhing in proportion to the crop within.

While I was thus wonderfully pleaſed in mind, I concluded there muſt be more corn in the iſland; and therefore made a diligent ſearch narrowly among the rocks, but could not find any; when upon a ſudden

ſudden it came into my mind, how I had ſhaken the huſks of corn out of the bag, and then my admiration ceaſed, with my gratitude to the Divine Being, *as thinking it was but natural*, and not to be conceived a miracle; though even the manner of its preſervation might have made me own it as a wonderful event of God's kind Providence.

It was about the latter end of *June* when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully, together with 20 or 30 ſtalks of rice, expecting one day I ſhould reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myſelf to eat any barley bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and induſtry for three or four months, at laſt I finiſhed my wall on the 14th of *April*, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder againſt the wall.

April 16. I finiſhed my ladder, and aſcended it; after pulled it up, then let it down on the other ſide, and deſcended into my new habitation, where I had ſpace enough, and ſo fortified that nothing could attack me without ſcaling the walls.

But what does all human pains and induſtry avail, if the bleſſings of God do not crown our labours? Or, who can ſtand before the Almighty, when he ſtretcheth forth his arm: For one time, as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened ſuch a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came crumbling about my ears, but the poſts ſeemed to crack terribly at the ſame time. This made me, in great amazement, run to my ladder and get over the wall: When there I plainly knew it was an earthquake, the place I ſtood on ſuſtaining three terrible ſhocks in leſs than three minutes. And when I ſaw the top of a great rock rowl into the ſea, then I expected the iſland would be ſwallowed up every moment: And dreadful it was to ſee the ſea thrown

into the moſt violent agitations and diſorders by this tremendous accident.

For my part, I ſtood like a criminal, at the place of execution, ready to expire. At the moving of the earth, I was, as it were, ſea-ſick; and very much afraid leſt the rock, under which was my fence and habitation ſhould overwhelm me and it in a laſting tomb.

When the third dreadful ſhock had ſpent itſelf, my ſpirits began to revive; yet ſtill I would not venture to aſcend the ladder, but continued ſitting, not knowing what I ſhould do. So little grace then I had, only to ſay, *Lord, have mercy upon me!* and no ſooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, at the ſame time attended with a hurricane of wind. The ſea ſeemed mountains high, and the waves rolled ſo impetuouſly, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this ſtorm continue, and in ſo violent a manner as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was ſucceeded by abundance of rain. When this was over I went to my tent, but the rain coming again upon me in a furious manner, obliged me to take ſhelter in the cave; and then I was forced to cut a channel thro' my fortification to let the water out. It continued raining all that night, and ſome time the next day: Yet no ſooner did the weather clear up, but I reſolved to build me a little hut in ſome open place, wall'd round, to defend me from wild creatures and ſavages, as not thinking but at the next earthquake the mountain would fall upon my habitation and me, and ſwallow up all in its bowels.

April 19, 20. Theſe days I ſpent in contriving how and in what manner I ſhould fix my place of abode: All this while I was under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions. When I looked round my habitation, every

every thing I found in its proper place. I had ſeveral reſolutions whether I ſhould move or not. At length I reſolved to ſtay where I was till I had found a convenient place where I might pitch my tent.

Apr. 22. When I began to put my reſolutions in practice, I was ſtopt for want of tools and inſtruments to work with. Moſt of my axes and hatchets were uſeleſs, occaſioned by cutting the hard timber that grew on the iſland. It took me up a full week to make my grindſtone of uſe to me, and at laſt I found out a way to turn it about with my foot, by the help of a wheel and a ſtring.

Apr. 28, 29. Theſe days were ſpent in grinding my tools.

Apr. 30. My bread falling ſhort, I allowed myſelf but one biſcuit a-day.

May 1. As I walked along the ſea-ſhore, I found a barrel of gunpowder, and ſeveral pieces of the wreck, which the ſea had flung up. Having ſecured thoſe, I made to the ſhip, whoſe ſtern was torn off, and waſhed a great diſtance aſhore; but the reſt lay in the ſands. This, I ſuppoſed, was occaſioned by the earthquake. Now I reſolved to keep my old place of abode; and alſo to go to the ſhip that day, but found it impoſſible.

May 3. I went on board, and with my ſaw ſaw'd off one of the beams which kept her quarter-deck; then I cleared the ſand till flood.

May 4. I caught ſome fiſh, but they were not wholeſome. The ſame day I alſo catched a young dolphin.

May 5. This day I alſo repaired to the wreck, and ſaw'd another piece of timber: and when the flood came, I made a float of three great planks, which was driven aſhore by the tide.

May 6, 7, 8, 9. Theſe days I brought off the iron bolts, opened the deck with the iron crow, and carried

two planks to land, having made a way into the very middle of the wreck.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. All this time I ſpent in bringing off great quantities of iron and timber.

May 15. Took with me two hatchets on purpoſe to cut off ſome lead off the roll, but all in vain, for it lay too low under water.

May 16. I omitted going to the wreck this day, for employing myſelf in looking for pigeons, I out-ſtay'd my time.

May 17. I perceived ſeveral pieces of the wreck blown ashore, which I found belonged to the head of the ſhip.

May 24. To this day I worked on the wreck, and with great difficulty looſened ſome things ſo much with the crow, that at the firſt flowing tide ſeveral caſks floated out, and many of the ſeamens cheſts; yet that day nothing came to land, but pieces of timber, and a hogſhead which had ſome *Braſil* pork in it. I continued working to the 15th of *June* (except neceſſary times for food and reſt) and had I known how to have built a boat, I had timber and planks enough: I had alſo near 100 weight of ſheet lead.

June 16. As I was wandering towards the ſea-ſide, I found a large tortoiſe or turtle, being the firſt I had ſeen on the iſland, though, as I afterwards found, there were many on the other ſide of it.

June 17. This day I ſpent in cooking it, found in her threeſcore eggs, and her fleſh the moſt ſavoury and pleaſant I ever taſted in my life.

June 18. I ſtaid within this day, there being a continual rain; and it was ſomething more chilly and cold than uſual.

June 19. Exceeding bad, taken with a trembling and ſhivering.

June

June 20. Awake all night, my head rack'd with pain, and feveriſh.

June 21. Sick unto death, and terrified with the diſmal apprehenſions of my condition: Pray'd to God frequently, but very confuſedly.

June 22. Something better, but ſtill uneaſy in my mind.

June 23. Again relapſed, much as before.

June 24. Mended a ſecond time.

June 25. A violent ague for ſeven hours, cold and hot fits, ſucceeded with faint ſweats.

June 26. Better, but very weak; yet I ſcrambled out, ſhot a ſhe-goat, brought it home, and broiled ſome of it: I would willingly have ſtewed it, and made ſome broth, but had no pot.

June 27. All this day I was afflicted with an ague; thirſty, yet could not help myſelf to water: Pray'd to God in theſe words: *Lord, in pity look upon me, Lord, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me!* After this I fell aſleep, which I found had much refreſhed me when I awaked. I fell aſleep a ſecond time, and fell into this ſtrange and terrible ſort of dream.

Methought I was ſitting on the ſame ſpot of ground, at the outſide of the wall, where I ſat when the ſtorm blew after the earthquake; and that I ſaw a man deſcending from a great black cloud, and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flaſh of fire, that a little before ſurrounded him; his countenance inconceivably terrible; the earth, as it were, trembled when he ſtept upon the ground, and flaſhes of fire ſeemed to fill all the air. No ſooner I thought him landed upon the earth, but with a long ſpear or other weapon he made towards me; but firſt aſcending a riſing ground, his voice added to my amazement, when I thought I heard him pronounce theſe dreadful words, *Unhappy wretch! ſeeing all theſe things have not brought thee to repentance, thou*

ſhalt

ſhalt immediately die. In pronouncing this dreadful ſentence, I thought he went to kill me with the ſpear that was in his hand.

Any body may think it impoſſible for me to expreſs the horrors of my mind at this viſion; and even when I awaked, this very dream made a deep impreſſion upon my mind. The little divine knowledge I had I received from my father's inſtructions, and that was worn out by an interrupted ſeries of ſeafaring impiety for eight years ſpace, except what ſickneſs forced from me; I don't remember I had one thought of lifting up my heart towards God; but rather had a certain ſtupidity of ſoul, not having the leaſt ſenſe of fear of the omnipotent Being when in diſtreſs, nor of gratitude to him for his deliverances. Nay, when I was on the deſperate expedition on the deſart *African* ſhore, I can't remember I had one thought of what would become of me, or beg his conſolation and aſſiſtance in my ſufferings and diſtreſs. When the *Portugal* captain took me up, and honourably uſed me; nay, farther, when I was even delivered from drowning by eſcaping to this iſland, I never looked upon it as a judgment, but only ſaid I was an unfortunate dog, and that's all. Indeed ſome ſecret tranſports of ſoul I had, which was not thro' grace, but only a common flight of joy, that I was yet alive, when my companions were all drown'd: And no other joy could I conceive but what is common with the ſailors over a bowl of punch, after they have eſcaped the greateſt dangers.

The likelihood of wanting for neither food nor conveniences, might have called upon me for a thankful acknowledgment to Providence. Indeed the growth of my corn touched me with ſome ſenſe, but that ſoon wore off again: The terrible earthquake pointed to me as it were the finger of God, but my dreadful amazement continued no longer than its duration. But now, when my ſpirits began to ſink under

under the burden of a ſtrong diſtemper, and I could leiſurely view the miſeries of death preſent itſelf before my eyes; then my awakened conſcience began to reproach me with my paſt life, in which I had ſo wickedly provoked the juſtice of God to pour down his vengeance upon me.

Such reflections as theſe oppreſſed me even in the violence of my diſtemper. Some prayers I uttered, which only proceeded from my fear of death. But when I conſidered my father's advice and prophecy, I could not forbear weeping: For he told me, *That if I did perſiſt in my folly, I ſhould not only be deprived of God's bleſſing, but have time enough to reflect upon my deſpiſing his inſtructions; and this in a wretched time, when none could help me.* And now concluding it to be fulfilled, having no ſoul in the iſland to adminiſter any comfort to me, I prayed, however, earneſtly, to the Lord, that he would help me in this my great calamity. And this, I think, was the firſt time I prayed in ſincerity for many years. But now I muſt return to my Journal.

June 28. Something refreſhed with ſleep, and the fit quite off, I got up. My dream ſtill occaſioned in me a great conſternation; and fearing that the ague might return the ſucceeding day, I concluded it a time to get ſomething to comfort me. I filled a caſe bottle with water, and ſet it within the reach of my bed; and to make it more nouriſhing and leſs chilly, I put ſome rum into it, The next I did was to boil me a piece of goat's fleſh, of which I eat but little. I was very weak, however walked about, dreading the return of my diſtemper; and at night I ſupp'd on three of the turtle's eggs, which I roaſted and eat, begging God's bleſſing therewith.

After I had eaten, I attempted to walk again out of doors with my gun; but ſo weak, that I ſat down and looked at the ſea, which was ſmooth and calm: While

While I continued here, theſe thoughts came into my mind.

In what manner is the production of the earth and ſea, which I have ſeen ſo much of? From whence came myſelf, and all other creatures living, and of what are we made?

Our beings were aſſuredly created by ſome Almighty inviſible Power, who framed the earth, the ſea, and air, and all therein. But what is that Power?

Certainly it muſt follow, that God has created it all. Yet, ſaid I, if God has made all this, he muſt be the ruler of them all, and what is relating thereto; for certainly the power that makes muſt indiſputably have a power to guide and direct them. And if this be ſo (as certainly it muſt) nothing can happen without his knowledge or appointment. Then ſurely, if nothing happens without God's appointment, certainly God has appointed theſe my ſufferings to befal me. And here I fixed my firm belief that it was his will that it ſhould be ſo; and then proceeded to inquire, why ſhould God deal with me in this manner? Or what had I done thus to deſerve his indignation?

Here conſcience flew in my face, reprehending me as a blaſphemer; crying with a loud and piercing voice, *Unworthy wretch! dare you aſk what you have done? Look upon your paſt life, and ſee what you have left undone.* Aſk thyſelf, why thou wert not long ago in the mercileſs hands of death? Why not drowned in *Yarmouth* roads, or killed in the fight when the ſhip was taken by the *Sallee* man of war? Why not entombed in the bowels of wild beaſts on the *African* coaſt, or drowned here when all thy companions ſuffered ſhipwreck.

Struck dumb with theſe reflections, I roſe up in a penſive manner, being ſo thoughtful that I could not go to ſleep: And fearing the dreadful return of my diſtemper

diſtemper, it cauſed me to remember that the *Braſilians* uſe tobacco for almoſt all diſeaſes. I then went to my cheſt, in order to find ſome, where heaven no doubt directed me to a cure for both ſoul and body; for there I found one of the Bibles, which till this time I had neither leiſure nor inclination to look into: I took both the tobacco and that out of the cheſt, and laid them on the table. Several experiments did I try with the tobacco: Firſt I took a leaf, and chewed it; but it being very green and ſtrong, almoſt ſtupified me. Next I ſteeped it in ſome rum an hour or two, reſolving when I went to bed to take a doze of it; and in the third place, I burnt ſome over a pan of fire, holding my noſe over it ſo long as I could endure the leaſt heat without ſuffocation.

In the intervals of this operation, though my head was giddy and diſturbed at the tobacco, I took up the Bible to read: No ſooner did I open it, but there appeared to me theſe words, *Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou ſhalt glorify me.*

At firſt this ſentence made a very deep impreſſion on my heart; but ſoon wore off again, when I conſidered the word *deliver* was foreign to me. And as the children of *Iſrael* ſaid, when they were promiſed fleſh to eat, *Can God ſpread a table in the wilderneſs?* In like manner I began to ſay, Can God himſelf deliver me from this deſolate iſland? However, the words would ſtill return to my mind, and after made a greater impreſſion upon me. As it now was very late, and the tobacco had dozed my head, I was inclined to ſleep; but before I would lie down, I fell on my knees, and implored the promiſe that God had made to me in the Holy Scriptures, that *if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me.* With much difficulty I after drank the rum, wherein I had ſteeped the tobacco; which flying in my head very violently, threw me into ſuch a profound

ſleep, that it was three o'clock the next day before I awaked; or rather, I believe, I ſlept two days, having certainly loſt a day in my own account, and I could never tell any other way. When I got up, my ſpirits were lively and chearful; my ſtomach much better, being very hungry; and, in ſhort, no fit returned the next day, which was the 29th, but much altered for the better.

The 30th, I went abroad with my gun, but not far, and kill'd a ſea fowl or two, reſembling a brand-gooſe, which yet I cared not to eat when I brought them home, but dined on two more of the turtle's eggs. In the evening I renewed my medicine, except not taking that quantity, neither did I chew of the leaf, or hold my head over the ſmoak, yet the next day I had a little ſpice of the cold fit, which was on the 1ſt of *July*.

July 2. I took my medicines as I did the firſt time.

July 3. The fit quite left me, but very weak. In this condition, I often thought of theſe words, *I will deliver thee*; and while at ſome times I would think of the impoſſibility of it, other thoughts would reprehend me for diſregarding the deliverances I had received, even in the moſt forlorn, and diſtreſſed condition. What regard had I to God's abundant mercies? Had I done my part? *He had delivered me, but I had not glorified him*; as much as to ſay, I had not own'd and been thankful for that as a deliverance, and how could I expect a greater? So much did this ſenſibly touch my heart, that I gave God thanks for my recovery from ſickneſs in the moſt humble proſtration.

July 4. This morning I began ſeriouſly to ponder on what is written in the *New Teſtament*, reſolving to read a chapter every morning and night, as long as my thoughts would engage me: But when ſoon after I ſet about this work ſeriouſly, I found my heart deeply affected with the impiety of my paſt life: Theſe

Theſe words that I thought were ſpoken to me in my dream revived, *All theſe things have not brought thee to repentance:* After this, I begged of God to aſſiſt me with his holy ſpirit in returning to my duty, when peruſing the ſcriptures one day, I came to theſe words, *He has exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remiſſion:* Immediately I laid down the book, and with up-lifted hands to heaven, loudly cried, *O bleſſed Jeſus, thou Son of* David, *Jeſus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!* And now indeed I prayed with a true ſenſe of my condition, and a more certain hope founded on the word of God: Now I had a different ſenſe of theſe words, *Call on me, and I will deliver you*; that is, from the dreadful load of guilt, which oppreſſed my ſinful ſoul; and not from a ſolitary life, which might rather be called a bleſſing (ſeeing I wanted neither food nor raiment) than living among the race of human-kind, ſurrounded with ſo much oppreſſion, miſery and affliction: And, in a word, I came to this concluſion, That a deliverance from ſin, was a much greater bleſſing than a deliverance from affliction. But again I proceed to my journal.

To the 24th of *July*, I walk'd about with my gun, a little and a little at a time, having been reduced to the greateſt extremity of weakneſs. The application and experiment I uſed were perfectly new; neither could I recommend it to any one's practice. For though it carried off the fit, it very much weakened me; and I had frequently convulſions in my nerves and limbs for ſome time. From hence I learned, that going abroad in rainy weather, eſpecially when it was attended with ſtorms and hurricanes of wind, was moſt pernicious to health. In this iſland I had been about ten months, never all the while having ſeen any human-kind, and ſo accounted myſelf as ſole monarch; and, as I grew better, having ſecured my habitation to my mind, I reſolved

to make a tour round my kingdom, in order to make new diſcoveries.

The 15th of *July* I began my journey. I firſt went to the creek, where I had brought my rafts on ſhore; and travelling farther, found the tide going no higher than two miles up, where there was a little brook of running water, on the banks of which were many pleaſant ſavannas or meadows, plain, ſmooth, and covered with graſs: On the riſing parts, where I ſuppoſed the water did not reach, I perceived a great deal of tobacco growing to a very ſtrong ſtalk: Several other plants I likewiſe found, the virtues of which I did not underſtand. But a long time I ſearched for the caſſava root, which I knew the *Indians* in that climate made their bread of, but all in vain. There were ſeveral plants of aloes, though at that time I knew not what they were: Likewiſe I ſaw ſeveral ſugar-canes, but imperfect, for want of cultivation. With theſe few diſcoveries I came back that night, and ſlept contentedly in my little caſtle.

The next day, being the 16th, going the ſame way, and farther than the day before, I found the country more adorned with woods and trees. Here I perceived different fruits, which lay in very great abundance. The melons in plenty lay on the ground; and cluſters of grapes, ripe and very rich, ſpread over the trees. You may imagine I was glad of this diſcovery, yet eat very ſparingly, leſt I ſhould throw myſelf into a flux or fever. As for the grapes, I found them of excellent uſe; for when I had dried them in the ſun, which preſerved them as dried raiſins are kept, they proved very wholeſome and nouriſhing, and ſerved me in thoſe ſeaſons when no grapes were to be had.

The night drawing on apace, I aſcended up a tree, and ſlept very comfortably, though it was the firſt time I had lain out of my habitation. And when the morning came, I proceeded with great pleaſure

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on my way, travelling about four miles, as I imagined, by the length of the valley, directing my courſe northward, there being a ridge of hills on the ſouth and north ſide of me. At the end of this valley I came to an opening, where the country ſeemed to deſcend to the weſt: There I found a little ſpring of freſh water proceeding out of the ſide of a hill, with its chryſtal ſtreams running directly eaſt. And indeed here my ſenſes were charmed with the moſt lovely object nature could afford; for the country appeared ſo flouriſhing, green and delightful, that to me it ſeemed like a planted garden. I then deſcended on the ſide of that delicious vale, when I found abundance of cocoa, orange, lemon and citron trees, but very wild and barren at that time. As for the juice of which I afterwards uſed to mix in water, which made it very cool and refreſhing. And now I was reſolved to carry home and lay up a ſtore of grapes, limes, and lemons againſt the approaching wet ſeaſon: So laying them up in ſeparate parcels, and then taking a few of each with me, I returned to my little caſtle, after having ſpent three days in this journey: But before I got home, the grapes were ſo bruiſed that they were utterly ſpoiled, the limes indeed were good, but few could I bring away.

July 19. Having prepared two bags, I returned thither again; but to my great ſurprize found all the grapes ſpread about, trod to pieces, and abundance eaten, which made me to conclude there were wild creatures thereabouts. To remedy this, I gather'd a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out-branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the ſun: and having well loaded myſelf with limes and lemons, I returned once more to my old place of reſidence.

And now it was, that contemplating on the fruitfulneſs of the valley, the pleaſantneſs of the ſituation,

the ſecurity from ſtorms on that ſide the water, and the delightfulneſs of an adjacent wood; I concluded I was ſettled in the worſt part of the country, and therefore was thinking to remove my habitation. But when I conſidered again, that though it was pleaſant, it was not by the ſea-ſide, where there was a poſſibility, ſome time or other, a ſhip might either be driven to, or ſail by that coaſt; and that to encloſe myſelf among hills and woods, muſt certainly fruſtrate all hopes of a deliverance; I reſolved to let my caſtle remain where Providence had firſt aſſigned it. Yet ſo raviſhed was I with this place, that I made me a little kind of bower, ſurrounding it at a diſtance with a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well ſtaked, and filled with bull-ruſhes, and having ſpent a great part of the month of *July*, I think it was the firſt of *Auguſt* before I began to enjoy my labour.

Aug. 3. Perceiving my grapes to be dry, I took them from the trees, and they proved excellent good raiſins of the ſun; the moſt of which I carried to my cave; and happy for me I did ſo, by which I ſaved the beſt part of my winter food.

Aug. 14. It began to rain this day; and though I had made me a tent like the other, yet having no ſhelter of a hill to keep me from ſtorms, nor a cave behind me to retreat to, I was obliged to return to my old caſtle. Still the rain continued more or leſs every day till the middle of *October*; and ſometimes ſo violently, that I could not ſtir out of my cave for ſeveral days. This ſeaſon I found my family to encreaſe; for one of my cats that ran away from me, and whom I thought had been dead, returned about *Auguſt* with three kittens at her heels, like herſelf, which I thought ſtrange, becauſe both my cats were females, and the wild cats of the iſland ſeemed to be of a different kind from our *European* cats; but from theſe cats proceeded ſuch numbers, that I was forced

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to kill and deſtroy them as I would do wild beaſts or vermin.

To the 26th of this month I could not ſtir out, it raining inceſſantly; when beginning to want food, I was compelled to venture twice, the firſt of which I ſhot a goat, and after found a very large tortoiſe. The manner of regulating my food was thus: A bunch of raiſins ſerved me for breakfaſt; a piece of goat's fleſh or turtle broiled for my dinner; and two or three turtle's eggs for my ſupper. While the rain laſted, I daily worked two or three hours at enlarging my cave, and by degrees worked it on towards one ſide till I came to the outſide of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall, and ſo I came in and out this way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to ſee myſelf thus expoſed, though I could not perceive any thing to fear, a goat being the biggeſt creature I had ſeen upon this iſland.

Sept. 30. Caſting up my notches on my poſt, which amounted to 365, I concluded this to be the anniverſary of my landing; and therefore humbly proſtrating myſelf on the ground, confeſſing my ſins, acknowledging God's righteous judgments upon me, and praying to *Jeſus Chriſt* to have mercy on me, I faſted for twelve hours till the going down of the ſun; and then eating a biſcuit and a bunch of grapes, laid me on the bed, and with great comfort took my night's repoſe. Till this time, having no ſenſe of religion, I never diſtinguiſhed the *Sabbath-day*; but now I made a longer notch than ordinary for the *days of reſt*, and divided the weeks as well as I could, tho' I found I had loſt a day or two in my account. Soon after, my ink failing, I omitted a daily memorandum of indifferent things, and contented myſelf to write down only the moſt remarkable events of my life. The rainy and dry ſeaſons appeared now regular to me, and experience taught me how to pro-

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vide for them; yet, in one thing I am going to relate, my experience very much failed me. You may call to mind what I have mentioned of ſome barley and rice which I had ſaved; about thirty ſtalks of the former, and twenty of the latter; and at that time the ſun being in its ſouthern poſition going from me together with the rains, made me conclude it a very proper ſeaſon to ſow it. Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground with my wooden ſpade, and dividing it in two parts, ſowed about two-thirds of my ſeed, preſerving by me about a handful of each. And happy it was I did ſo, for no rains falling, it was choaked up, and never appeared above the earth till the wet ſeaſon came again, and then it grew as if it had been newly ſown.

I was reſolved ſtill to make another trial; and ſeeking for a moiſter piece of ground near my bower, there I ſowed the reſt of my ſeed in *February*, a little before the vernal equinox, which having the rainy months of *March* and *April* to water it, yielded a noble crop, and ſprung up very pleaſantly. Part of the ſeed I had yet ſaved, not daring to venture all; and my crop amounted to above half a peck of each ſort. But by this time I found the proper ſeaſons to ſow in; and that two ſeed-times and two harveſts I might expect every year.

No ſooner were the rains over, and the ſtakes, which I had cut from the trees, ſhooting like willow trees the firſt year after lopping their heads, than I was ignorant of the tree I cut them from; but they grew ſo regularly beautiful, that they made a moſt lovely appearance, and flouriſhed ſo in three years time, that I reſolved to cut ſome more, and theſe ſoon growing made a glorious fence, as in order I ſhall obſerve.

And now I perceived that the ſeaſons of the year might generally be divided, not into ſummer and winter,

ter, as in *Europe*, but into wet and dry ſeaſons, as in this manner:

Half *February*, *March*, Half *April*,	*Rainy, ſun coming near the equinox.*
Half *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, Half *Auguſt*,	*Dry, ſun getting north of the line.*
Half *Auguſt*, *September*, Half *October*,	*Wet, the ſun being then come back.*
Half *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, Half *February*,	*Dry, ſun running ſouth of the line.*

As the winds happened to blow, ſo the wet ſeaſons would continue longer or ſhorter: But when I found the ill conſequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care before-hand to furniſh myſelf with proviſions; and during the wet months ſat within doors as much as poſſible: And in this time I contrived to make many things that I wanted, though it was with much labour and pains before I could accompliſh them. The firſt I tried was to make a baſket; but all the twigs I could get, proved ſo brittle, that I could not then perform it. But now it proved of excellent advantage to me, that when a boy, took great delight in ſtanding at a baſket-maker's in the ſame town where my father lived, to view them at work, and like other boys curious to ſee the manner of their working theſe things, and very officious to aſſiſt, I perfectly learned the method of it, and wanted nothing but the tools. And then it came

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into my mind, that the twigs of that tree of which I made my ſtakes might be as tough as ſallow, willow, and oſiers, growing in *England*; and ſo reſolving to make an experiment, I went the next day to my country ſeat, and found ſome fit for my turn; and cutting down numbers with my hatchet, I dried them in my pale, and when fit to work with, carried them to my cave, where I employed myſelf in making ſeveral ſorts of baſkets, to put in whatſoever I pleaſed: It is true, they were not cleverly made, yet they ſerved my turn upon all occaſions.

But ſtill I wanted two neceſſary things; I had never a caſk to hold my liquor, except two rumlets almoſt full of rum, a few bottles of an ordinary ſize, and ſome ſquare caſe bottles: Neither had I a pot to boil any thing in, only a large kettle, unfit to make broth or ſtew a bit of meat. After this, I wanted a tobacco pipe; for which laſt I found an expedient.

I kept myſelf employed in planting my ſecond row of ſtakes, and worked in this wicker the dry ſeaſon. You may remember before, that when I travelled up to the brook, I had a mind to ſee the whole iſland; accordingly, taking my dog, gun, hatchet, two biſcuit cakes, a great bunch of raiſins, with a larger quantity of powder and ſhot than uſual, I began my journey. And having paſſed the vale where my bower ſtood, I came within view of the ſea, lying to the weſt, when it being a clear day, I fairly deſcried land, but could not ſay whether it was an iſland or a continent: It extended from the W. to the W. S. W. about ten or fifteen leagues, as I concluded. Neither could I tell what place this might be, only thought it was part of *America*, and where I might have been in a miſerable condition had I landed. Again, I conſidered, that if this was the *Spaniſh* coaſt, certainly one time or other I ſhould ſee ſome ſhip paſs by; and if it was not, then it muſt be the ſavage coaſt, between the *Spaniſh* country

country and *Braſil*, which abound with cannibals or man-eaters that devour human-kind.

As I proceeded forward, I found this ſide of the iſland much more pleaſant than mine, the fields fragrant, adorned with ſweet flowers and verdant graſs, together with ſeveral very fine woods. There were parrots in plenty, which made me long for one to be my companion; but it was with great difficulty that I could knock it down with my ſtick; and it was ſome years I kept him at home, before I could get him to call me by my name.

In the low grounds I found various ſorts of hares and foxes as I thought them, but much different from all I had met with: Several of theſe I killed, but never eat them; neither indeed had I any occaſion, for abounding with goats, pigeons, turtle, and grapes, I could defy *Leadenhall* market to furniſh me a better table. In this journey I did not travel above two miles in a day, becauſe I took ſeveral turns and windings, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make, returning weary enough to the place where I deſigned to reſt all night, which was either in a tree, or in a place which I ſurrounded with ſtakes, that no wild creature might ſuddenly ſurprize me. When I came to the ſea-ſhore, I was amazed to ſee the ſplendour of it: Its ſtrand was covered with ſhells of the moſt beautiful fiſh, and conſtantly abounding with innumerable turtles, and fowls of many kinds, which I was ignorant of, except thoſe called *Penguins*. I might have ſhot as many as I pleaſed, but was ſparing of my ammunition, rather chuſing to kill a ſhe-goat, which with much difficulty I did, becauſe of the flatneſs of the country.

Now though this journey produced the moſt pleaſing ſatisfaction, yet my habitation was ſo natural to me, that I did not repine at my being ſeated on the worſt part of the iſland: And ſo travelling about 12 miles towards the *Eaſt*, I ſet a great pile on the ſhore

ſhore for a mark, concluding that my next journey ſhould be on the other ſide of the iſland eaſt from my caſtle, and ſo round till I came to my poſt again. However, I took another way back, thinking I could not miſs by having a conſtant view of the country; but ſcarce had I travelled three miles, when I deſcended into a very large valley, ſo ſurrounded with hills that were covered with wood, that I had no guide but by the ſun, nor even then, unleſs I knew well the poſition of the ſun at that time of the day. What added to my misfortune was, the weather proved ſo hazy, for three or four days, as to oblige me to return to my poſt by the ſea-ſide, and ſo backwards the ſame way I came. My dog ſurprized a kid in this journey, and would have killed it, had I not prevented him. I had often been muſing whether I could not get a kid or two, and ſo raiſe a breed of tame goats to ſupply me after my ammunition was ſpent. Upon which I made a collar for this little creature with a ſtring made of rope-yarn which I always carried about with me; and when I came to my bower, there I incloſed and left him, and after a month's time in this journey I came home to my old habitation.

Nobody can ſuppoſe otherwiſe, but that I had a pleaſing ſatisfaction, when I returned to my little caſtle, and repoſed myſelf in my hammock. After this journey, I reſted myſelf a week, and the principal concern I then had was to make a cage for my pretty poll. And then I began to conſider the poor kid I had left at my bower; and immediately I went to fetch it home. When I came there, I found the young creature almoſt ſtarved; when feeding it with branches of ſuch ſhrubs as I could find, I tied it as before; but there was no occaſion, for it followed me like a dog, and as I conſtantly fed it, became ſo loving, gentle and fond, that it commenced one of my domeſtics, and would never leave me.

The rainy ſeaſon of the autumnal equinox being now

now come, I kept the 30th of *September* in the moſt ſolemn manner as uſual, it being the third year of my abode in the iſland. I ſpent the whole day in acknowledging God's mercies; in giving him thanks for making this ſolitary life as agreeable, and leſs ſinful, than that of human ſociety; and for the communications of his grace to my ſoul, ſupporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence, and hope for his eternal preſence in the world to come.

Before I conſidered how happy I was in this ſtate of life towards that accurſed manner of living I formerly uſed, while either I was hunting or viewing the country, the anguiſh of my ſoul would break out upon me on a ſudden, and my very heart would ſink within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deſarts I was in; and how I was a priſoner locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderneſs, without hopes and without redemption. And in this condition, I would often wring my hands and weep like a child: Even in the middle of my work this fit would take me; and then I would immediately ſit down and ſigh, looking on the ground for an hour or two together, till ſuch time as my grief would be vented, by burſting out into melting tears.

As one morning I was ſadly pondering in my mind, I opened my Bible, when immediately I fixed my eyes upon theſe words, *I will never leave thee nor forſake thee!* Surely, thought I, theſe words are directed to me; or elſe, why ſhould they appear juſt at a moment when I am bemoaning my forlorn condition? And if God does not forſake me, what matters it, ſince he can make me more happy in this ſtate of life than if I enjoyed the greateſt ſplendour in the world? But while I was going to return God thanks for my preſent ſtate, ſomething ſeemed to ſhock my mind, as if it had thus ſaid, Unworthy

wretch! can you pretend to be thankful for a condition, from which you would pray to be delivered? Here I ſtopt;-------and though I could not ſay, I thank'd the Divine Majeſty for being there, yet I gave God thanks for placing to my view my former wicked courſe of life, and granting me a true knowledge of repentance: And whenever I opened or ſhut the Bible, I bleſt kind Providence that directed my goods without my order, and for aſſiſting me to ſave it from the power of the raging ocean.

And now beginning my third year, my ſeveral daily employments were theſe: *Firſt*, My duty to heaven, and diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, which I did twice or thrice every day. *Secondly*, Seeking proviſion with my gun, which commonly took me up when it did not rain, three hours every morning. *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preſerving, and cooking what I had killed or catched for my ſupply, which took me up a great part of the day: and in the middle of the day, the ſun being in its heighth, it was ſo hot that I could not ſtir out; ſo that I had but four hours to work in: And then my want of tools, help, and ſkill, waſted a great deal of time; for I was two and forty days making a board fit for a long ſhelf, whereas two ſawyers, with their tools and ſaw-pit, would have cut ſeveral out of the ſame tree in half a day; but this was the caſe, it was to be a large tree, becauſe my board was to be broad; I was three days in cutting it down, and two more in lopping off the boughs, and reducing it to a piece of timber; this I hack'd and hew'd off each ſide till it became light to move; then I turned it, made one ſide of it ſmooth and flat as a board, from end to end, then turned it downward, cutting the other ſide, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and ſmooth on both ſides. Any body may judge my great labour and fatigue

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in ſuch a piece of work; but this I went through with patience, as alſo many other things that my circumſtances made neceſſary for me to do.

But now came my harveſt months, *November* and *December*, in which I had the pleaſing proſpect of a very good crop: But ſuch was my misfortune, that the goats and hares having once taſted of the ſweetneſs of the blade, kept it ſo ſhort, that it had not ſtrength to ſhoot up into a ſtalk: To prevent which, I encloſed it with a hedge, and by day ſhot ſome of its devourers; and my dog, which I had tied to the field gate, keeping barking all night, frightened the creatures away.

No ſooner did I get rid of theſe, but other enemies appeared, whole flocks of ſeveral ſorts of birds, who only waited till my back was turned to ruin me. So much did this provoke me, that I let fly, and killed three of the malefactors; and afterwards ſerved them as they do notorious thieves in *England*, hung them up in chains as a terror to others. And indeed ſo good an effect had this, that they not only forſook the corn, but all that part of the iſland, ſo long as theſe criminals hung there.

My corn having ripened apace, the latter end of *December*, which was my ſecond harveſt of the year, I reaped it with a ſcythe made of one of my broad ſwords. I had no great fatigue in cutting down my firſt crop, it was ſo ſlender; the ears of which I carried home in a baſket, rubbing it out with my hands inſtead of thraſhing it; and when my harveſt was over, found my half peck of ſeed produce near two buſhels of rice, and two buſhels and a half of barley. And now I plainly foreſaw that, by God's goodneſs, I ſhould be furniſhed with bread; but yet I was concerned becauſe I knew not how to grind or make meal of my corn, nor bread, neither knew how to bake it. Upon theſe conſiderations, I would not taſte any of the crop, but preſerve it againſt the next

ſeaſon, and in the mean while uſe my beſt endeavours to provide myſelf with materials to make bread.

But where were my labours to end? The want of a plough to turn up the earth, or ſhovel to dig it, I conquered by making me a wooden ſpade made after a wooden manner: The want of a harrow, I ſupplied myſelf by dragging over the corn a great bough of a tree: When it was growing or fully ripe, I was forced to fence it, mow it, carry it home, thraſh it, part it from the chaff, and ſave it: And after all this, I wanted a mill to grind it, ſieves to dreſs it, yeaſt and ſalt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it. This ſet my brains on work to find ſome expedient, for every one of theſe neceſſaries, againſt the next harveſt.

And now, having more ſeed, my firſt care was to prepare me more land. I pitched upon two large flat pieces of ground near my caſtle for that purpoſe, in which I ſowed my ſeed, and fenced it with a good hedge, which took me up three months time, by which it was the wet ſeaſon. While the rain kept me within doors, I found ſeveral occaſions to employ myſelf; and while at work, uſed to divert myſelf with talking to my parrot, learning him to know and ſpeak his own name, *POLL*, the firſt welcome word I ever heard ſpoke on the iſland. I had been a long time contriving how to make earthen veſſels, which I wanted extremely; and when I conſidered the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find any proper clay, I might botch up a pot, ſtrong enough, when dried in the ſun, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, as corn, meal, and other things.

To be ſhort, the clay I found; but it would occaſion the moſt ſerious perſon to ſmile to ſee what aukward ways I took, and what ugly miſhapen things I made; how many either fell out or crack'd by the violent heat of the ſun, and fell in pieces when they were

were removed: So that I think it was two months time before I could perfect any thing, and after this great fatigue, made two clumſy things in imitation of earthen jars. Theſe however I very gently placed in wicker baſkets, made on purpoſe for them, and between the pot and the baſkets, ſtuffed it full of rice and barley ſtraw; and theſe I preſumed would hold my dried corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruiſed. But as for ſmaller things, I made them with better ſucceſs, which the ſun baked very hard, ſuch as little round pots, flat diſhes, pitchers, and pipkins.

Yet ſtill I wanted one thing abſolutely neceſſary, and that was an earthen pot, not only to hold any liquid thing, but to bear the fire, which none of theſe could do. It once happened, that as I was putting out my fire, I found therein a broken piece of one of my veſſels burnt hard as a rock, and red as a tile. This made me contrive how to order my fire, as to make it burn ſome pots; and having no notion of a kiln, or of glazing them with lead, I fixed three large pipkins, and two or three pots in a pile one upon another. The fire I plied round the outſide with dry wood, and on the top, till I ſaw the pots in the inſide red hot, and found that they did not crack at all; and when I perceived them perfectly red, I let one of them ſtand in the fire about five or ſix hours, till the clay melted by the extremity of the heat, and would have run to glaſs, had it ſuffered it; upon which I ſlacked my fire by degrees, till the redneſs abated; and watching them till the morning, I found I had three very good pipkins, and two earthen pots, as well burnt and fit for my turn as I could deſire.

No joy could be greater than mine at this diſcovery: For after this, I may ſay, I wanted for no ſort of earthen-ware. I filled one of my pipkins with water to boil me ſome meat, which it did admirably

well, and with a piece of kid I made me ſome good broth, as well as my circumſtances would afford me at that time.

The next concern I had was to make me a ſtone-mortar to beat ſome corn in, inſtead of a mill to grind it. Here indeed I was at a great loſs, as not being fit for a ſtone-cutter; and many days I ſpent to find out a great ſtone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and ſtrong enough to bear the weight of a peſtle, as would break the corn without filling it with ſand: But all the ſtones of the iſland being of a mouldering nature, rendered my ſearch fruitleſs, and then I reſolved to look out a great block of hard wood; which having ſoon found, I formed with my axe and hammer, and then with infinite labour made a hollow place in it, juſt as the *Indians* of *Braſil* make their *canoes*. When I had finiſhed this, I made a great peſtle of iron-wood, which I had formerly laid up againſt my ſucceeding harveſt.

My next buſineſs was to make me a ſieve, to ſift my meal, and part it from the bran and the huſk. Having no fine thin canvas to ſearch the meal thro', I could not tell what to do; what linen I had was reduced to rags: I had goat's hair enough, but neither tools to work it, nor did I know how to ſpin it: At length I remembered I had ſome neckcloths of callicoe or muſlin of the ſailors, which I had brought out of the ſhip, and with theſe I made three ſmall ſieves, proper enough for the work.

And now I come to conſider the baking part in courſe. The want of an oven I ſupplied by making ſome earthen pans very broad, but not deep. When I had a mind to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, the tiles of which I had made myſelf, and when the wood was burnt into live coals, I ſpread them all over it, till it became very hot, then ſweeping

ing them away, I ſet down my loaves, and whelming down the earthen pots upon them, drew the aſhes and coals all around the outſide of the pots to continue the heat; and in this manner I uſed to bake my barley loaves, as well as if I had been a complete paſtry-cook, making myſelf of the rice ſeveral cakes and puddings.

It is no wonder that all theſe things took me up the beſt part of a year, ſince what intermediate time I had was beſtowed in managing my new harveſt and huſbandry; for in the proper ſeaſon I reaped my corn, carried it home, and laid it up in the ear in my large baſkets, till I had time to rub, inſtead of threſhing it. And now indeed my corn increaſed ſo much that it produced me about twenty buſhels of barley, and as much of rice, that I not only began to uſe it freely, but was thinking how to enlarge my barns, and was reſolved to ſow ſo much at a time as would be ſufficient for me a whole year.

All this while the proſpect of land, which I had ſeen from the other ſide of the iſland, ran in my mind. I ſtill meditated a deliverance from this place, though the fear of greater misfortunes might have deterred me from it: For after I had attained that place, I run the hazard of being killed and eaten by the devouring cannibals; and if they were not ſo, yet I might be ſlain, as other *Europeans* had been who fell into their hands. Notwithſtanding all this, my thoughts ran continually upon my acquiring that ſhore: And now I wanted my boy *Xury*, and the long boat, with the ſhoulder of mutton ſail. Then I went to the ſhip's boat that had been caſt a great way on the ſhore in the late ſtorm. She was but a little removed: but her bottom was turned up by the impetuoſity and fury of the waves and wind. With all the ſtrength I had, I tried whatever I could do, with levers and rollers I had

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cut from the wood, to turn her, and repair the damages ſhe had ſuſtained. This work took me up three or four weeks, when finding my little ſtrength all in vain, I fell to undermine it by digging away the ſand, and ſo to make it fall down, ſetting pieces of wood to thruſt and guide it in the fall. But after this was done, unable was I to ſtir it up again, or to get under it, much leſs to move it forwards towards the water, and ſo I was forced to give it over.

Not contented with this diſappointment, I began to think whether it was not poſſible for me to make a canoe or periagua, ſuch as the *Indians* make of the trunk of a tree; but here I lay under particular inconveniencies, want of tools to make it, and want of hands to move it to the water when it was made. However, to work I went upon it, ſtopping all the enquiries I could make, with this very ſimple anſwer I made to myſelf, let's firſt make it, I'll warrant I'll find ſome way or other to get it along when it is done.

I firſt cut down a cedar tree, which was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the ſtump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it leſſened for a ſpace, and then parted into branches. Twenty days was I hacking and hewing this tree at the bottom, fourteen more in cutting off the branches and limbs, and a whole month in ſhaping it like the bottom of a boat; as for the inſide, I was three weeks, with a mallet and chiſſel, clearing it in ſuch a manner as that it was big enough to carry twenty-ſix men, much bigger than ever a canoe I ſaw in my life, and conſequently ſufficient to tranſport me and all my effects to that wiſhed for ſhore I ſo ardently deſired.

Nothing remained now, but indeed the greateſt difficulty, to get it into the water, it lying about 100 yards

yards from it. To remedy the firſt inconvenience, which was a riſing hill between this boat and the creek, with wonderful pains and labour I dug into the ſurface of the earth, and made a declivity. But when this was done, all the ſtrength I had was as inſufficient to move it, as it was when I attempted to move the boat. Then I proceeded to meaſure the diſtance of ground, reſolving to make a canal, in order to bring the water to the canoe, ſince I could not bring the canoe to the water. But as this ſeemed to be impracticable to myſelf alone, under the ſpace of eleven or twelve years, it brought me into ſome ſort of conſideration, that I concluded it impoſſible to be done, and ſo this attempt was in vain alſo. And now I ſaw, and not before, what ſtupidity it is to begin a work before we reckon its coſts, or judge right of our own abilities to go through with its performance.

It was in the heighth of this work, my fourth year expired, ſince I was caſt on this iſland; and then I did not forget my anniverſary, but kept it with the ſame ardent devotion I had done before. But now, my hopes being fruſtrated, I looked upon this world as a thing I had nothing to do with; and very well might I ſay, as father *Abraham* unto *Dives*, *Between me and thee there is a gulf fixed.* And indeed from the world I was ſeparated from its wickedneſs too, having neither the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, or the pride of life; I had nothing to covet, being lord, king, or emperor over the whole country I had in poſſeſſion, without diſpute, and without controul; I had loadings of corn, plenty of turtles, timber in abundance, and grapes above meaſure; but after I was ſerved, what was all the reſt to me? The money I had by me lay as deſpicable droſs, which I would freely have given for a groſs of tobacco-pipes, or a hand-mill to grind my corn: In a word, the nature and experience of

theſe

theſe things dictated to me this juſt reflection, That the good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are for our uſe; and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we can but enjoy as much as we uſe and no more.

Theſe thoughts rendered my mind more eaſy than uſual. Every time I ſat down to eat I did it with thankfulneſs, admiring the providential hand of God, that in this wilderneſs had ſpread this table to me. And now I conſidered what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; compared my preſent condition with what I at firſt expected it ſhould be; how I ſhould have done, if I had got nothing out of the ſhip; that I muſt have periſhed before I had caught fiſh or turtles; or lived, had I found them, like a mere ſavage, by eating them raw, and pulling them in pieces with my claws, like a beaſt. I next compared my ſtation to that which I deſerved; how undutiful I had been to my parents, how deſtitute of the fear of God; how void of every thing that was good; and how ungrateful for thoſe abundant mercies I had received from heaven, being fed, as it were, by a miracle, even as great *Elijah*'s being fed by ravens; and caſt on a place where there was no venemous creature to poiſon or devour me: In ſhort, making God's tender mercies matter of great conſolation, I relinquiſhed all ſadneſs, and gave way to contentment.

As long as my ink continued, which with water I made laſt as long as I could, I uſed to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened. And,

Firſt, I obſerved, That the ſame day I forſook my parents and friends, and ran away to *Hull*, in order to go to ſea, the ſame day afterwards, in the next year, I was taken and made a ſlave by the *Sallee* rover.

The

The very day I eſcaped out of the wreck of the ſhip in *Yarmouth* roads, a year after, on the ſame day, I made my eſcape from *Sallee*, in my patron's fiſhing-boat.

The 30th of *September*, being the day of the year I was born on, on that day twenty-ſix years after, was I miraculouſly ſaved, and caſt on ſhore on this Iſland.

The next thing that waſted after my ink was the biſcuit which I had brought out of the ſhip: And though I allowed myſelf but one cake a-day, for above a twelvemonth, yet I was quite out of bread for near a year, before I got any corn of my own.

In the next place, my clothes began to decay, and my linen had been gone long before; however, I had preſerved about three dozen of the ſailors checquered ſhirts, which proved a great refreſhment to me, when the violent beams of the ſun would not ſuffer me to bear any of the ſeamens heavy watch-coats, which made me turn taylor, and after a miſerable botching manner, convert them into jackets. To preſerve my head, I made me a cap of goat-ſkin, with the hair outwards, to keep out the rain; which indeed ſerved me ſo well, that I afterwards made me a waiſtcoat and open-knee'd breeches of the ſame: And then I contrived a ſort of an umbrella, covering it with ſkins, which not only kept out the heat of the ſun, but the rain alſo. Thus being eaſy and ſettled in my mind, my chiefeſt happineſs was to converſe with God, in moſt heavenly and comfortable ejaculations.

For five years after this I cannot ſay any extraordinary thing occurred to me. My chief employment was to cure my raiſins, and plant my barley and rice, of both which I had a year's proviſion beforehand. But though I was diſappointed in my firſt canoe, I made it, at intermediate times, my buſineſs to make a ſecond, of much inferior ſize; and it was two years

years before I finiſhed it. But as I perceived it would no ways anſwer my deſign of ſailing to the other ſhore, my thoughts were confined to take a tour round the iſland, to ſee what further diſcoveries I could make. To this intent, after having moved her to the water, and tried how ſhe would ſail, I fitted up a little maſt to her, and made a ſail of the ſhip's ſail that lay by me. I then made lockers or boxes, at the end of it, to put in neceſſary proviſions and ammunition, which would preſerve them dry either from rain, or the ſpray of the ſea; and in the inſide of the boat I cut a long hollow place to lay my gun, and to keep it dry, made a flag to hang over it; my umbrella I fixed in a ſtep in the ſtern like a maſt to keep the heat of the ſun off me: And now, reſolving to ſee the circumference of my little kingdom, I victualled my ſhip for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my barley bread loaves, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, powder and ſhot, and two watch-coats. It was the 6th of *November*, in the 6th year of my reign, or captivity, that I ſet out in this voyage, which was much longer than I expected, being obliged to put further out, by reaſon of the rocks that lay a great way in the ſea: And indeed ſo much did theſe rocks ſurpriſe me, that I was for putting back, fearing, that if I ventured further, it would be out of my power to return. In this confuſion I came to an anchor juſt off ſhore, to which I waded with my gun on my ſhoulder, and then, climbing up an hill, which overlooked that point, I ſaw the full extent of it, and reſolved to run all hazard.

In this proſpect from the hill, I perceived a violent current running to the eaſt, coming very cloſe to the point; which I the more carefully obſerved, thinking it dangerous, and that, when I came to it, I might be drove into the ſea by its force, and not able

to

to return to the iſland; and certainly it muſt have been ſo, had I not made this obſervation; for on the other ſide was the like current, with this difference, that it ſet off at a greater diſtance; when I perceived there was a ſtrong eddy under the land, ſo that my chiefeſt buſineſs was to work out of the firſt current, and conveniently get into an eddy. Two days I ſtaid here, the wind blowing very briſkly E. S. E. which being contrary to the current, leaves a great breach on the ſea upon the point; ſo it was not fit for me to keep too near the ſhore, upon account of the breach; nor to ſtand at too great a diſtance, for fear of the ſtreams. That night the wind abating, it grew ſo calm that I ventured out; but ſurely I was to be a memento to all raſh and ignorant pilots: For I was no ſooner come to the point, and not above the boat's length from the ſhore, but I was got into a deep water, with a current like a mill, which drove my boat along ſo violently that it was impoſſible for me to keep her ſo much as to the edge of it; but it forced me more and more out from the eddy to the left of me, and all I could do with my paddles was uſeleſs, there being no wind to help me.

Alas! now I began to think myſelf quite loſt; ſince, as the current ran on both ſides of the iſland, I was very certain they muſt join again, and then I had no hopes but of periſhing for want, in the ſea, after what proviſions I had was ſpent, or before, if a ſtorm ſhould happen to ariſe.

Who can conceive the preſent anguiſh of my mind at this calamity? With longing eyes did I look upon my little kingdom, and thought the iſland the pleaſenteſt place in the univerſe. Happy, thrice happy deſart, ſaid I, ſhall I never ſee thee more? Wretched creature! whither am I going? Why did I murmur at my loneſome condition, when now I would give the whole world to be there again? While I was thus contemplating, I found myſelf to be

driven about two leagues into the ſea; however, I laboured till my ſtrength was ſpent, to keep my boat as far north as poſſibly I could, to that ſide of the current where the eddy lay on. About noon, I perceived a little breeze of wind ſpring up from the S. S. E. which overjoyed my heart the more, when, in about half an hour, it blew a gentle fine gale. Had any thick weather ſprung up, I had been loſt another way; for having no compaſs on board, I ſhould never have found the way to ſteer towards the iſland, if once it had diſappeared; but it proving the contrary, I ſet up my maſt again, ſpread my ſail, and ſtood away northward as much as I could, to get rid of the current: And no ſooner did the boat begin to ſtretch away, but I perceived, by the clearneſs of the water, a change of the current was near; for where it was clear, the current abated. To the eaſt I ſoon ſaw, about half a mile, a breach of the ſea upon ſome rocks, which cauſed it again to ſeparate; and as the main force drove away more ſouthwardly, leaving the rocks to the north-eaſt, ſo the other came back by the repulſe of the rocks, making a ſharp eddy, which returned back again to the north weſt with a very ſwift ſtream.

They who have experienced what it is to be reprieved upon the ladder, or to be ſaved from thieves juſt going to take away their lives, or elſe ſuch who have been in the like calamities, may gueſs my preſent exceſs of joy; how heartily I run my boat into the ſtream of this eddy, and how joyfully I ſpread my ſail to the refreſhing wind, ſtanding chearfully before it with a ſmart tide under foot. By the aſſiſtance of this eddy, I was carried above a league home again, when being in the wake of the iſland, betwixt the two currents, I found the water to be at a ſort of a ſtand. About four o'clock in the afternoon

noon I reached within a league of the iſland, and perceived the points of the rock, which cauſed this diſaſter, ſtretching out as I obſerved before, to the ſouthward, which throwing off the current more ſouthwardly, had occaſioned another eddy to the north. But having a fair briſk gale, I ſtretched acroſs this eddy, and in an hour came within a mile of the ſhore, where I ſoon landed, to my unſpeakable comfort: And after an humble proſtration, thanking God for my deliverance, with a reſolution to leave all thoughts of eſcaping aſide, I brought my boat ſafe into a little cove, and laid me down to take a welcome repoſe. When I awoke, I was conſidering how I might get my boat home; and coaſting along the ſhore, I came to a good bay, which ran up to a rivulet or brook, where finding a ſafe harbour, I ſtowed her as ſafe as if ſhe had been in a dry dock made on purpoſe for her.

And now I perceived myſelf not far from the place where before I had travelled on foot; when taking nothing with me except my gun and umbrella, I began my journey, and in the evening came to my bower, where I again laid me down to reſt. But it was not long before I was awakened in great ſurpriſe by a ſtrange voice that called me ſeveral times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Cruſoe, Poor Robin! Where are you, Robin Cruſoe? Where are you? Where have you been?*

So faſt was I aſleep at firſt, that I did not awake thoroughly; but half aſleep and half awake, I thought I dreamt that ſomebody ſpoke to me. But as the voice repeated *Robinſon Cruſoe* ſeveral times, being terribly affrighted, I ſtarted up in the utmoſt confuſion; when no ſooner were my eyes fully open, but I beheld my pretty *Poll* ſitting on the top of the hedge; and ſoon knew that it was he that called me; for juſt in ſuch bewailing language I uſed to talk and teach him, which he ſo exactly learned, that he would ſit upon my finger, and lay his bill cloſe to my face,

and cry, *Poor Robinſon Cruſoe, where are you? Where have you been? How came you here?* And ſuch like prattle as I had conſtantly taught him. But as I knew it to be the parrot, it was a great while before I could adjuſt myſelf; firſt, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and that he ſhould fix about that place, and no where elſe. When I was aſſured it could be no other than my honeſt *Poll*, my wonder ceaſed; ſo reaching out my hand, and calling familiarly, *Poll*, the creature came to me, and perched upon my thumb, as he was wont, conſtantly prating to me, with *Poor Robinſon Cruſoe*, and *How did I come here?* and *Where had I been?* As if the bird was overjoyed to ſee me; and ſo I took him home along with me.

Now though I was pretty well cured of my rambling to ſea again, yet I could wiſh my boat, which had coſt me ſo much trouble and pains, on this ſide the iſland once more, which indeed was impracticable. And ſo I led a very retired life, living near a twelvemonth, in a very contented manner, wanting for nothing except converſation. As to mechanic labours, which my neceſſities obliged me to, I fancied I could, upon occaſion, make a tolerable carpenter were the tools I had to work withal but good. Beſides, as I improved in my earthen ware, I contrived to make them with a wheel, which I found much eaſier and better; making my work ſhapable, which before was rude and ugly. But I think I was never ſo elevated with my own performance or project as for being able to make a tobacco-pipe; which though it proved an aukward, clumſy thing, yet it was very ſound, and carried the ſmoak perfectly well, to my great ſatisfaction.

Alſo I improved my wicker-ware, making me abundance of neceſſary baſkets, which though not very handſome, were very handy and convenient to fetch things

things home in, as alſo for holding my ſtores, barley, rice, and other proviſions.

My powder beginning to fail, made me examine after what manner I ſhould kill the goats or birds to live on, after it was all gone. Upon which I contrived many ways to enſnare the goats, and ſee if I could catch them alive, particularly a ſhe-goat with young. At laſt I had my deſire; for making pitfalls and traps, bated with barley and rice, I found one morning in one of them an old he-goat, and in the other three kids, one male, the other two females.

So boiſterous was the old one, that I could not bring him away. But I forgot the proverb, *That hunger will tame a lion*: For had I kept him three or four days without victuals, and then given him ſome water, with a little corn, he would have been as tame as a young kid. The other creatures I bound with ſtrings together, but I had great difficulty before I could bring them to my habitation. It was ſome time before they would feed, when throwing them ſome corn, it ſo much tempted them, that they began to be tame; from hence I concluded, that if I deſigned to furniſh myſelf with goats fleſh, when my ammunition was ſpent, the tamely breeding them up like a flock of ſheep about my ſettlement, was the only method I could take. I concluded alſo I muſt ſeparate the wild from the tame, or elſe they would always run wild as they grew up; and the beſt way for this was to have ſome encloſed piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them ſo effectually, that thoſe within might not break out, or thoſe without break in. Such an undertaking was very great for one pair of hands; but as there was an abſolute neceſſity for doing it, my firſt care was to find a convenient piece of ground where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water to drink, and cover to keep them from the ſun.

But here I began madly, pitching upon a piece of meadow land ſo large, that had I encloſed it with infinite pains, this hedge or pale muſt have been at leaſt two miles about. Indeed had it been ten miles I had time enough to do it in; but then I did not conſider that my goats would be as wild in ſo much compaſs as if they had had the whole Iſland, and conſequently as difficult for me to catch them. And this thought came into my head, after I had carried on, I believe, about fifty yards; when I reſolved to encloſe a piece of ground 150 yards in length, and 100 in breadth, ſufficient enough for as many as would maintain me, till ſuch time as my flock encreaſed, and then I could add more ground. Upon which, I vigorouſly proſecuted my work, and it took me about three months in hedging the firſt piece; in which time I tethered the three kids in the beſt part of it, feeding them as near me as poſſible to make them familiar; and indeed very often would I carry ſome ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; by which means they grew ſo tame, that when my enclofure was finiſhed, and I had let them looſe, they would run after me for an handful of corn. This indeed anſwered my end; and in a year and a half's time I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years after, they amounted to three and forty, beſides what I had taken and killed for my ſuſtenance. After this, I encloſed five ſeveral pieces of ground to feed them in, with penns to drive them into, that I might take them as I had occaſion.

But ſtill I had additional bleſſings, not only in having plenty of goats fleſh, but milk too, which in my beginning I did not ſo much as think of: And indeed, though I had never milked a cow, much leſs a goat, or ſeen butter cheeſe made, yet after ſome eſſays and miſcarriages I made me both, and never afterwards wanted.

How

How mercifully can the omnipotent power comfort his creatures, even in the midſt of their greateſt calamities: How can he ſweeten the bittereſt Providences, and give us reaſon to magnify him in dungeons and priſons! what a bounteous table was here ſpread in a wilderneſs for me, when I expected nothing at firſt but to periſh with hunger.

Certainly a ſtoic would have ſmiled to have ſeen me at dinner; there was my royal Majeſty, an abſolute prince and ruler of my kingdom, attended by my dutiful ſubjects, whom, if I pleaſed, I could either hang, draw, quarter, give liberty, or take it away. When I dined, I ſeemed a king, eating alone, none daring to preſume to do ſo till I had done. *Poll*, as if he had been my principal court favourite, was the only perſon permitted to talk with me. My old but faithful dog, now grown exceeding crazy, and had found no ſpecies to multiply his kind upon, continually ſat at my right hand; while my two cats ſat on each ſide of the table, expecting a bit from my hand, as a principal mark of my royal favour. Yet theſe were not the cats I had brought from the ſhip; they had been dead long before, and interred near my habitation by mine own hand: But one of them, as I ſuppoſe, generating with a wild cat, theſe were the couple I had made tame; whereas the reſt run into the woods, and grew ſo impudent as to return and plunder me of my ſtores, till ſuch time as I ſhot a great many, and the reſt left me with this attendance. And in this very plentiful manner did I live, wanting for nothing but converſation. One thing more indeed concerned me, the want of my boat. I knew not which way to get her round the iſland. I reſolved one time to go along the ſhore by land to her; but had any one in *England* met ſuch a figure, it would either affright them, or make them burſt into laughter: Nay, myſelf could not but ſmile

at

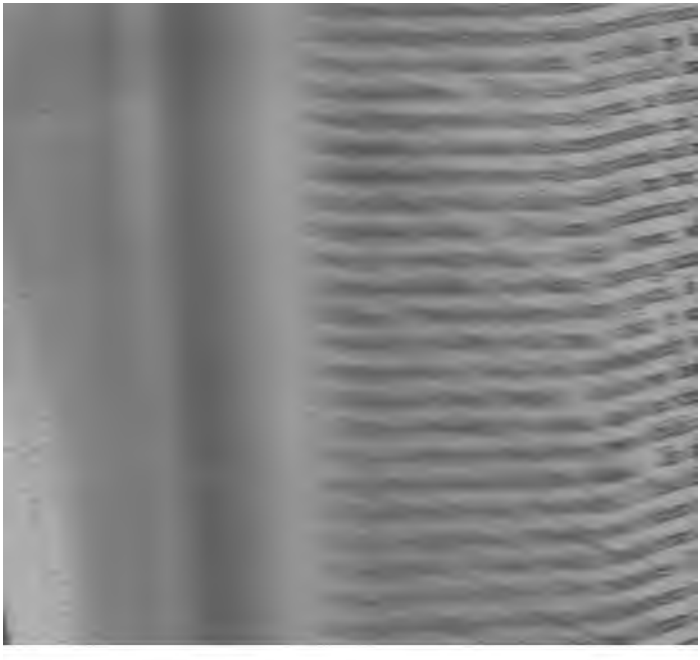
at my habit, which I think, in this place, it is very proper to deſcribe.

The cap I had upon my head was great, high, and ſhapeleſs, made of a goat-ſkin, with a flap or pent-houſe hanging down behind, not only to keep the ſon from me, but to ſhoot the rain off from running into my neck, nothing being more pernicious than the rain falling upon the fleſh in theſe parts. I had a ſhort jacket of goat-ſkin, whoſe hair hung down ſuch a length on either ſide, that it reached down to the caves of my legs. As for ſhoes and ſtockings I had none, but made a reſemblance of ſomething, I know not what to call them; they were made like buſkins, and laced on the ſides like ſpatterdaſhers, barbarouſly ſhaped, like the reſt of my habit. I had on me a broad belt of goat-ſkin dried, girt round with a couple of thongs inſtead of buckles; on each of which, to ſupply the deficiency of ſword and dagger, hung my hatchet and ſaw. I had another belt, not ſo broad, yet faſtened in the ſame manner, which hung over my ſhoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, made alſo of goat-ſkin, to hold my powder and ſhot. My baſket I carried on my back, and my gun on my ſhoulder, and over my head a great clumſy ugly goat-ſkin umbrella, which, however, next my gun, was the moſt neceſſary thing about me. As for my face, the colour was not ſo ſwarthy as the molattas, as might be expected from ſuch a perſon as I, who took ſo little care of it, in a climate within nine or ten degrees from the equinox. At one time my beard grew ſo long, that it hung down above a quarter of a yard; but as I had both razors and ſciſſars in ſtore, I cut it all off, and ſuffered none to grow, except a large pair of *Mahometan* whiſkers, the like of which I had ſeen worn by ſome *Turks* at *Sallee*, not long enough to hang a hat upon, but of ſuch a monſtrous

ſtrous ſize, as would have amazed any in *England* to have ſeen.

'But all this was of no conſequence here, there being none to obſerve my behaviour or habit. And ſo without fear, and without controul, I proceeded on my journey, the proſecution of which took me up five or ſix days. I firſt travelled along the ſea-ſhore, directly to the place where I firſt brought my boat to an anchor, to get upon the rocks. But now having no boat to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the ſame heighth that I was before upon; when looking forward to the point of the rock which lay out, and which I was forced to double with my boat, I was amazed to ſee the ſea ſo ſmooth and quiet, there being no ripling, motion, or current, any more than in other places: Which made me indeed ponder ſome time to imagine the reaſon of it, when at laſt I was convinced how it was, which was this; the ebb ſetting from the weſt, and joining with the currents of waters from ſome great rivers on the ſhore, muſt be the occaſion of theſe rapid ſtreams; and that conſequently as the winds blew more weſtwardly, or more ſouthwardly, ſo the current came the nearer, or went the further from ſhore. To ſatisfy my curioſity, I waited there till evening, when the tide of ebb being made, from the rock I plainly perceived the current again as before, with this difference, that it ran farther off, near half a league from the ſhore; whereas in my condition, it ſet quite upon it, furiouſly hurrying me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done. And now I was convinced that, by obſerving the ebbing and flowing of the tide, I might eaſily bring my boat round the iſland again: But when I began to think of putting it in practice, the remembrance of the late danger I was in ſtruck me with ſuch horror, that I changed my reſolution, which was more ſafe, tho'

more



more laborious; and this was to make another canoe, and ſo have one for one ſide of the iſland, and one for the other.

Here I think it very proper to inform my readers, that I had two plantations in the iſland; the firſt was my little fortification, fort, or caſtle, with many large and ſpacious improvements: For by this time I had enlarged the cave behind me with ſeveral little caves, one within another, to hold my baſkets, corn and ſtraw. The piles with which I made my wall were grown ſo lofty and great, as obſcured my habitation: And near this commodious and pleaſant ſettlement lay my two well cultivated and improved corn fields, which kindly yielded me their fruit in the proper ſeaſon. My ſecond plantation was that near my country ſeat, or little bower, where my grapes flouriſhed, and where, having planted many ſtakes, I made encloſures for my goats, ſo ſtrongly fortified by labour and time, that it was much ſtronger than a wall, and conſequently impoſſible for them to break through. As for my bower itſelf, I kept it conſtantly in repair, and cut the trees in ſuch a manner as made them grow thick and wild, and form the moſt delightful ſhade. In the center of this ſtood my tent, thus erected: I had driven four piles in the ground, ſpreading over them a piece of the ſhip's ſail; beneath which I made me a ſort of a couch with the ſkins of the creatures I had ſlain, and other things; and having laid thereon one of the ſailors blankets, which I had ſaved from the wreck of the ſhip, and covering myſelf with a great watch-coat, I took up this place for my country retreat.

Very frequently from this ſettlement did I uſe to viſit my boat, and kept her in very good order. And ſometimes I would venture in her a caſt or two from ſhore, but no farther, leſt either a ſtrong current, a ſudden ſtormy wind, or ſome unlucky accident, ſhould hurry me from the iſland as before. But now

I entreat your attention, while I proceed to inform you of a new but moſt ſurpriſing ſcene of life, wherein I was acting again in a ſtranger manner.

You may ſuppoſe that, after I had been here ſo long, nothing could have been more amazing than to have ſeen a human creature. But one day it happened that, going to my boat, I ſaw the print of a man's naked foot on the ſhore, very evident on the ſand, as the toes, heel, and every part of it. Had I ſeen an apparition, in the moſt frightful manner, I could not have been more confounded: My willing ears gave the ſtricteſt attention. I caſt my eyes around, but neither could ſatisfy the one or the other. When I proceeded alternately to every part of the ſhore, ſtill it was all as one; neither could I ſee any other mark, though the ſand about it was as ſuſceptible to take impreſſion as that which was ſo plainly ſtampt. Thus, ſtruck with confuſion and horror, I returned to my habitation, frightened at every buſh and tree, as taking them for men; and, being poſſeſſed with the wildeſt ideas, got over I cannot tell how. But that night my eyes never cloſed, though farther from danger, when even then I formed nothing but the moſt diſmal imaginations, thinking it muſt be the mark of the Devil's foot which I had ſeen: For otherwiſe how could any mortal body come to this Iſland? And if ſo, where was the ſhip that tranſported them? And what ſigns of any other footſteps? Though theſe ſeemed very ſtrong reaſons for ſuch a ſuppoſition, yet (thought I) why ſhould the Devil make the print of his foot to no purpoſe, as I can ſee, when he might have taken other ways to have terrified me? Why ſhould he leave his mark on the other ſide of the iſland, and that too on the ſand, where the ſurging waves of the ocean might ſoon have eraſed the impreſſion. Surely this action is not conſiſtant with the ſubtlety of SATAN, ſaid I to myſelf; but rather muſt be ſome dangerous creature,

ſome

ſome wild ſavage of the main land over againſt me, that, venturing too far in the ocean, was driven here either by the violent currents or contrary winds; and ſo not caring to ſtay on this deſolate Iſland, was gone back to ſea again.

Happy was I in my thoughts that no ſavages had ſeen me in that place, yet much terrified, leſt, having found my boat, they ſhould return in numbers and deſtroy me, or at leaſt carry away all my corn, and deſtroy my flock of tame goats: In a word, all my religious hopes vaniſhed, as though I thought God could not protect me by his power, who had ſo wonderfully preſerved it ſo long.

What various chains of Providence there are in the life of man! How changeable are our affections, according to different circumſtances? We love to-day what we hate to-morrow; we ſhun one hour what we ſeek the next; and this was evident in me in the moſt perſpicuous manner; for I, who before had ſo much lamented my condition, in being baniſhed from all human kind, was now almoſt ready to expire, when I conſidered that a man had ſet his foot on this deſolate Iſland. But when I conſidered my ſtation of life, decreed by the infinitely wiſe and good Providence of God; that I ought not to diſpute my Creator's ſovereignty, who had an undoubted right to govern and diſpoſe of his creatures as he thinks convenient; and that his juſtice and mercy could either puniſh or deliver me: I ſay when I conſidered all this, I comfortably found it my duty to truſt ſincerely in him, pray ardently to him, and humbly reſign myſelf to his divine will.

One morning, lying on my bed, theſe words of the ſacred writings came again into my mind, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me.* Upon this ſentence, riſing more chearfully from my bed, I offered up my prayers in the moſt heavenly manner: And when I had done, taking up my Bible to read, theſe words appeared firſt in my ſight: *Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer,*

and

and he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart; *wait, I ſay, on the Lord.* Such divine comfort did this give me, as to remove all cauſe of ſadneſs upon that occaſion.

Thus, after a world of apprehenſions and fears, for three days and nights, at laſt I ventured out of my caſtle, and milked my goats, one of which was almoſt ſpoiled for want of it. I next, though in great fear) viſited my bower, and milked my flocks there alſo; when growing bolder, I went down to the ſhore again, and meaſuring the print of the foot to mine, to ſee whether, perhaps, I myſelf had not occaſioned that mark, I found it much ſuperior in largeneſs; and ſo I returned home, poſſeſſed with the notion, that either ſome men had been aſhore, or that the iſland muſt be inhabited; and therefore, that I might be ſurpriſed before I was aware.

Struck with a ſecond and more terrible fear, ſeveral thoughts of ſecurity came into my mind: And that night I was firſt propoſing to cut down my encloſures, and turn my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and frequent the iſland in hopes of the ſame. *Secondly*, I was for digging up my corn fields for the very ſame reaſon: And, *Laſtly*, I concluded to demoliſh my bower, leſt, ſeeing ſuch a place of human contrivance, they might come farther and attack me in my little caſtle.

Such notions did the fear of danger ſuggeſt unto me; and, I looked, I thought, like the unfortunate King *Saul*, when not only oppreſs'd by the *Philiſtines*, but alſo forſaken by God himſelf: And it is ſtrange, that a little before having entirely reſigned myſelf to the will of God, I ſhould now have ſo little confidence in him, fearing thoſe more who might kill this fading body, than him who could deſtroy my immortal ſoul.

Sleep was an utter ſtranger to my eyes that night; yet nature, ſpent and tired, ſubmitted to a ſilent re-

poſe the next morning: and then, joining reaſon with my fear, I conſidered, that this delightful and pleaſant iſland might not be entirely forſaken, as I might think; or that the inhabitants from the other ſhore might ſail either with deſign or neceſſity, by croſs winds; and if the latter circumſtance, they departed upon the firſt opportunity. But ſtill my fear occaſioned me to think of a place for retreat, upon an attack. I now repented that I had made the door that came out beyond my fortification; but reſolving to make me a ſecond, I drove between that double row of trees, which I planted about 12 years before, ſeveral piles, thickening it with pieces of timber and old cables, and ſtrengthening the foot of it with earth which I dug out of my cave. I alſo made me ſeven holes, wherein I planted my muſkets like cannon, fitting them into frames reſembling carriages. This being finiſhed with indefatigable induſtry, for a great way every way I planted ſticks of oſier-like wood, about twenty thouſand of them, leaving a large ſpace between them and my wall, that I might have room to ſee an enemy, and that they might not be ſheltered from the young trees, if they offered to approach the outer wall. And indeed ſcarce two years had paſſed over my head, when there appeared a lovely ſhady grove, and in ſix years it became a thick wood perfectly impaſſable. For my ſafety, I left no avenue to go in or out; inſtead of which I ſet two ladders; one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, leaving room to place another ladder upon that; ſo that when I took thoſe down, it was impoſſible for any man to deſcend without hurting himſelf; and if they had, they would ſtill be at the outſide of my outer wall. But while I took all theſe meaſures of human prudence for my own preſervation, I was altogether unmindful of other affairs: To preſerve my ſtocks of tame goats, that the enemy ſhould not take all at once, I looked out

for

for the moſt retired part of the iſland, which was the place where I had loſt myſelf before-mentioned, and there finding a clear piece of land, containing three acres, ſurrounded with thick woods, I worked ſo hard, that in leſs than a month's time I fenced it ſo well round, that my flocks were very well ſecured in it, putting therein two he-goats and ten ſhe ones.

As this labour was occaſioned purely by my fearful apprehenſions, on account of ſeeing the print of a man's foot; not contented with what I had done, I ſearched for another place towards the weſt point of the iſland, where I might alſo retain another flock. Then methought I perceived a boat at a great diſtance in the ſea; but could not poſſibly tell what it was for want of my perſpective glaſs. I conſidered then it was no ſtrange thing to ſee the print of a man's foot; and concluding them cannibals, bleſſed God for my being caſt on the other ſide of the iſland, where none of the ſavages, as I thought, ever came. But when I came down the hill to the ſhore, which was the S. W. point of the iſland, I was not only amazed, but perfectly confirmed in my opinion: For the place was ſpread with ſculls, hands, feet, and bones of human bodies; and then I perceived a ſpace like a circle, in the midſt of which had been a fire; about this fire I conjectured theſe wretches ſat, and unnaturally ſacrificed and devoured their fellow creatures.

The horror and loathſomeneſs of this dreadful ſpectacle both confounded my ſenſes, and made me diſcharge the violent diſorder from my ſtomach. So that when I had vomited in a very exceſſive manner, I returned towards my habitation; and in my way thither ſhedding floods of tears, and falling down on my bended knees, gave God thanks for making my nature contrary to theſe wretches, and delivering me ſo long out of their hands.

Now though reaſon and my long reſidence there had aſſured me, that theſe ſavages never came up to

the thick woody parts of the country; and that I had no occaſion to diſcover myſelf, who was ſo perfectly concealed from them; yet ſuch an abhorence did I ſtill retain, that for two years after I confined myſelf only to my three plantations; I mean my caſtle, country ſeat, and encloſure in the woods. And when, in this ſolitary life, my dreadful apprehenſions began to wear away, yet my eyes were more vigilant for fear of being ſurprized, and I was cautious of firing my gun, leſt, being heard by thoſe creatures, they ſhould proceed to attack me; but reſolving manfully to loſe my life if they did, I went armed with three piſtols ſtuck in my girdle, which added to the deſcription I have given of myſelf before, made me look with a very formidable appearance.

And thus my circumſtances for ſome time remained very calm and undiſturbed. When I compared my condition to others, I found it far from being miſerable: And indeed would all perſons compare their circumſtances, not with thoſe above them, but with thoſe innumerable unhappy objects beneath them, I am ſure we ſhould not hear thoſe daily murmurings and complainings that are in the world. For my part, I did not want many things: Indeed the terror which the ſavages had put me in ſpoilt ſome inventions for my own conveniencies; one of which was really very ridiculous, except I could accompliſh it, and happy it was they hindered me from putting it in practice. My deſign was to brew me ſome beer, when I had neither caſks ſufficient, nor could make any, to preſerve it in; neither had I hops to make it keep, yeaſt to make it work, nor a copper or kettle to make it boil. Perhaps indeed, after ſome years, I might bring this to bear, as I had done other things: But now my inventions were placed another way; and one was, how I might deſtroy ſome of theſe cannibals, when proceeding to their bloody entertainments; and ſo ſaving a victim from being ſacrificed,

he

he might after became my ſervant. Many were my contrivances for this purpoſe, and as many more objections occurred after I hatched them: For when I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put therein five or ſix pounds of gunpowder, which would conſequently blow up all thoſe that were near it; why then I was loth to ſpend ſo much upon them, leſt it ſhould not do that certain execution I could deſire; and but only affright, and not kill them. Having laid this deſign aſide, I propoſed to myſelf to lay privately in ambuſh, in ſome convenient place, with my three guns double loaded, and let fly at them in the midſt of their dreadful ceremony; and having killed two or three of them at every ſhot, fall upon the reſt ſuddenly with my three piſtols, and not let one mother's ſon eſcape. And ſo much did this imagination pleaſe my fancy, that I uſed to dream of it in the night-time. To put my deſign in execution, I was not long ſeeking for a place very convenient for my purpoſe, where, unſeen, I might behold every action of the ſavages. Here I placed my two muſkets, each of which was loaded with a brace of ſlugs, and four or five ſmaller bullets, about the ſize of piſtol-bullets; the fowling-piece was charged with near a handful of the largeſt ſwan-ſhot; and in every piſtol were about four bullets. And thus all things being prepared, no ſooner would the welcome light ſpread over the element, but, *like a giant refreſhed with wine*, as the Scripture has it, would I iſſue forth from my caſtle, and, from a lofty hill, three miles diſtant, view if I could ſee any invaders approach unlawfully to my kingdom. But having waited in vain two or three months, it not only grew very tireſome to me, but brought me into ſome conſideration, and made me examine myſelf, what right I had to kill theſe creatures in this manner?

If (argued I to myſelf) this unnatural cuſtom of theirs be a ſin offenſive to heaven, it belongs to the

Divine Being, who alone has the vindictive power in his hands to ſhower down vengeance upon them: And perhaps he does ſo, in making them become one another's executioners. Or if not, if God thinks theſe doings juſt, according to the knowledge which they conceive, what authority have I to pretend to all the decrees of Providence, which has permitted theſe actions for ſo many ages, perhaps from almoſt the beginning of the creation? They never offended me, what right had I then to concern myſelf in their ſhedding one another's blood? And, as I have ſince known, they value no more to kill and devour a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox, or eat mutton. From hence it followed, that theſe people were no more murderers than Chriſtians, who many times put whole troops to the ſword, after throwing down their arms. Again I conſidered, that if I fell upon them, I ſhould be as much in the wrong as the *Spaniards*, who had committed the greateſt barbarities upon theſe people, who had never offended them in their whole lives; as if the kingdom of *Spain* was eminent for a race of men without common compaſſion to the miſerable, which is reckoned to be a principal ſign of the moſt generous temper. In a word, I concluded never to attack them, whoſe numbers might overpower me; or that ſome eſcaping, might bring thouſands to my certain deſtruction, not ſo much as to ſhew myſelf, which might oblige me even to a neceſſary duty of defence. And indeed religion took their part ſo much as to convince me how contrary it was to my duty to be guilty of ſhedding human blood, innocent as to my particular, whatever they are to one another; and that I had nothing to do with it but leave it to the God of all power and dominion, as I ſaid before, to do therein what ſeemed convenient to his heavenly wiſdom. And therefore, on my knees, I thanked the Almighty for delivering me from blood-guiltineſs, and begged his protection that I might never fall into their hands. Thus,

Thus, giving over an attempt which I had raſhly begun, I never aſcended the hill on that occaſion afterwards; only I removed my boat which lay on the other ſide of the iſland, and every thing, ſuch as they were, that belonged to her, towards the eaſt, into a little cove, that there might not be the leaſt ſhadow of diſcovery of any boat near, or habitation upon the iſland. And then my caſtle became my cell, keeping very retired in it, except to milk my ſhe-goats, and order my little flock in the wood, which was quite out of danger; for ſure it is, theſe ſavages never came here with expectations to find any thing, and conſequently never wandered from the coaſt; and as they might have ſeveral times been on ſhore, as well before as after my dreadful apprehenſions, I looked back with horror to think in what a ſtate I might have been, had I ſuddenly met them ſlenderly armed, with one gun only loaded with ſmall ſhot: And how great would have been my amazement, if, inſtead of ſeeing the print of one man's foot I had perceived fifteen or twenty ſavages, who, having once ſet their eyes upon me, by the ſwiftneſs of their feet, there was no poſſibility of my eſcaping? Theſe thoughts would ſink my very ſoul within me, ſo that I would fall into a deep melancholy, till ſuch time as the conſideration of my gratitude to the Divine Being moved it from my heart. And then I fell into a contemplation of the ſecret ſprings of Providence: How wonderfully we are delivered, when we are inſenſible of it; and when intricated in uncertain mazes or labyrinths of doubt or heſitation, what ſecret hint ſhall direct us in the right way, when we intended to go out of it; nay, perhaps, contrary to our buſineſs, ſenſe, or inclination. Upon which, I fixed within me this as a certain rule, never to diſobey thoſe ſecret impreſſions of my mind to the acting or not acting any thing that offered, for which I yet could aſſign no reaſon: But let it be how it will, the advantage of this



this conduct very eminently appeared in the latter part of my abode on this iſland: I am a ſtranger in determining whence theſe ſecret intimations of Providence derive; yet, methinks, they are not only ſome proofs of the converſe of ſpirits, but alſo of the ſecret communications they are ſuppoſed to have with thoſe that have not paſſed through the gloomy vale of death.

As in theſe many anxieties of mind, the care of my preſervation put a period to all inventions and contrivances, either for future accommodations or conveniencies; ſo I never cared to drive a nail, chop a ſtick, fire a gun, or make a fire, leſt either the noiſe ſhould be heard, or the ſmoak diſcover me: And, upon this account, I uſed to burn my earthen ware privately in a cave which I found in the wood, and which I made convenient for that purpoſe: But the principal cauſe that firſt brought me here was to make charcoal, ſo that I might bake and dreſs my bread and meat, without any danger. While I was cutting down ſome wood for this purpoſe, I perceived a cavity behind a very thick branch of underwood. Curious to look into it, I attained its mouth, and perceived it ſufficient for me to ſtand upright in it. But when I had entered and took a further view, two rowling ſhining eyes, like flaming ſtars, ſeemed to dart themſelves at me, ſo that I made all the haſte out that I could, as not knowing whether it was the Devil or a monſter that had taken his reſidence in that place. But when I recovered from my ſurprize, I called myſelf a thouſand fools, for being afraid to ſee the Devil one moment, who had now lived almoſt twenty years in the moſt retired ſolitude: And therefore, reſuming all the courage I had, I took up a flaming firebrand, and in I ruſhed again; when not having proceeded above three ſteps, I was more affrighted than before; for then I heard a very loud ſigh, like that of a human creature in the greateſt agony, ſucceeded with a broken noiſe, reſembling

reſembling words half expreſſed, and then a broken ſigh again. Stepping back, Lord! (thought I to myſelf) where am I got? Into what enchanted place have I plunged myſelf, ſuch as are reported to contain miſerable captives, till death puts an end to their ſorrow? And indeed, ſuch a great amazement was I in, that it ſtruck me with a cold ſweat; and had my hat been on my head, I believe my hair would have moved it off. But again, encouraging myſelf with the hopes of God's protection, I proceeded forward, and, by the light of my firebrand, perceived it to be a monſtrous he-goat, lying on the ground, gaſping for life, and dying of mere old age. When at firſt I ſtirred him, thinking to drive him out, the poor ancient creature ſtrove to get upon his feet, but was not able; ſo I e'en let him ſtay ſtill, to affright the ſavages, ſhould they venture into this cave. In the mean time, I looked round me, and found the place but ſmall and ſhapeleſs: At the further ſide of it I perceived a ſort of an entrance, yet ſo low as muſt oblige me to creep on my hands and knees to it; when, having no candle, I ſuſpended my enterprize till the next day, and then I came provided with ſix large ones of my own making.

When, upon my hands and feet I had crept thro' the ſtraight, I found the roof roſe higher up, I think, about twenty feet: But ſurely never mortal ſaw ſuch a glorious ſight in this iſland before! The roof and walls of this cave reflected a hundred thouſand lights to me from my two candles, as though they were indented in with ſhining gold, precious ſtones, or ſparkling diamonds. And indeed it was the moſt delightful cavity or grotto, of its kind, as could be deſired, though entirely dark: The floor was dry and level, and had a kind of gravel upon it; no nauſeous venemous creature to be ſeen there, neither any damp or wet about it: I could find no fault but in the entrance, which I thought might be very

very neceſſary for my defence, and therefore was reſolved to make this place my moſt principal magazine. I brought hither two fowling-pieces and three muſkets, leaving only five pieces at my caſtle, planted in the nature of cannon. In a barrel of gunpowder, which I took out of the ſea, I brought away about ſixty pounds of good powder, which was not damaged; and theſe, with a great quantity of lead for bullets, I removed from my caſtle to this retreat, now fortified both by art and nature.

Surely it is no wonder, if at this time I thought myſelf like one of the giants of old, who were ſaid to live in caves and holes among the rocks, inacceſſible to any but themſelves, or, at leaſt, moſt dangerous to attempt. So that now it ſeems I deſpiſed both the cunning and ſtrength of the ſavages, either to find me out or to hurt me.

But I muſt not forget the old goat, who cauſed my late dreadful amazement: The poor creature gave up the ghoſt the day after my diſcovery; and it being difficult to drag him out, I dug his grave, and honourably entombed him in the ſame place where he departed, with as much ceremony as any *Welſh* goat that has been interred about the high mountain *Penmenmoure*.

I think I was now in the twenty-third year of my reign, and much eaſier were my thoughts than formerly, contriving ſeveral pretty amuſements and diverſions, to paſs away the time in a pleaſant manner. By this time my pretty *Poll* had learnt to ſpeak *Engliſh*, and pronounce his words very articulately and plain; ſo that for many hours we uſed to chat together after a very familiar manner, and he lived with me no leſs than twenty-ſix years: My dog, who was nineteen years old, ſixteen years of which he lived with me, died of mere old age: As for my cats, they multiplied ſo faſt, that I was forced to kill or drive them into the woods, except two or three, which

which became my particular favourites. Beſides theſe, I continually kept two or three houſehold kids about me which I did learn to feed out of my hand, and two more parrots which would talk indifferently, and call *Robinſon Cruſoe*, but not ſo excellent as the firſt, as not taking that pains with them. Several ſea fowls I had alſo, which having wounded, I cut their wings, and growing tame, they uſed to breed among the low trees about my caſtle walls; all which were very agreeable to me.

But what unforeſeen events ſuddenly deſtroy the enjoyments of this uncertain ſtate of life, when we leaſt expect them! It was now the month of *December*, in the *Southern* ſolſtice, and particular time of my harveſt, which required my attendance in the fields; when going out pretty early one morning, before it was day-light, there appeared to me, from the ſea-ſhore, a flaming light, about two miles from me, at the eaſt end of the iſland, where I had obſerved ſome ſavages had been, as before, but not on the other ſide; but, to my great affliction, it was on my ſide of the iſland.

Struck with a terrible ſurpriſe, and my uſual apprehenſions, that the ſavages would perceive my improvements, I returned directly to my caſtle, pulled up the ladder after me, making all things look as wild and natural as poſſibly I could. In the next place I put myſelf in a poſture of defence, by loading my muſkets and piſtols, and committing myſelf to God's protection, reſolving to defend myſelf till my lateſt breath. After two hours ſpace, impatient for intelligence, I ſet my ladder up to the ſide of the hill where there was a flat place; and then pulling the ladder after me, aſcended the top, where, laying myſelf on my belly, with my perſpective glaſs, I perceived no leſs than nine naked ſavages, ſitting round a ſmall fire, eating, as I ſuppoſed, human fleſh, with their two canoes haled upon ſhore, waiting

ing for the flood to carry them off again. You cannot eaſily expreſs the conſternation I was in at this ſight eſpecially ſeeing them near me; but when I perceived their coming muſt be always with the current of the ebb, I became more eaſy in my thoughts, being very fully convinced, that I might go abroad with ſecurity all the time of flood, if they were not before landed. And indeed this proved juſt as I imagined; for no ſooner did they all take boat, and paddle away, but the tide made north-weſt. Before they went off, they danced, making ridiculous poſtures and geſtures, for above an hour, all ſtark naked, but whether men, or women, or both, I could not perceive. When I ſaw them gone, I took two guns upon my ſhoulders, and placing a couple of piſtols in my belt, with my great ſword hanging by my ſide, I went to the hill, where at firſt I made a diſcovery of theſe cannibals, and then ſaw there had been three canoes more of the ſavages on ſhore at that place, which, with the reſt, were making over to the main land.

But nothing could be more horrid to me, when going to the place of ſacrifice, the blood, the bones, and other mangled parts of human bodies, appeared in my ſight; and ſo, fired with indignation, I was fully reſolved to be revenged of the firſt that came there, tho' I loſt my life in the execution. It then appeared to me that the viſits, which they make to this Iſland, were not very frequent, it being fifteen months before they came again; all this time I was very uneaſy, by reaſon of the diſmal apprehenſions I had of their ſurpriſing me unawares: nor dared I offer to fire a gun on that ſide of the iſland where they uſed to appear, leſt, taking the alarm, the ſavages might return with many hundred canoes, and then God knows in what manner I ſhould have made my end: And thus I was a year or more, before I ever ſaw any of theſe devouring cannibals again.

But

But to wave this diſcourſe for a while, the following accident demands your attention, which for a while eluded the force of my thoughts in revenging myſelf on thoſe heathens.

It was the 16th of *May* (according to my wooden calendar) that the wind blew exceeding hard, accompanied with abundance of lightning and thunder all that day, and ſucceeded by a very ſtormy night. What occaſioned this I could not imagine; but as the ſeeming anger of the heavens made me have recourſe to the Bible, whilſt I was ſeriouſly pondering upon it, I was ſuddenly alarmed with the noiſe of a gun, which I conjectured was fired upon the ocean. Such an unuſual ſurprize made me ſtart up in a minute, when, with my ladder, aſcending the mountain as before, that very moment a flaſh of fire preſaged the report of another gun, which I preſently heard, and found it was from that part of the ſea where the current drove me away. I could not then think otherwiſe, but that this muſt be a ſhip in diſtreſs, and that theſe were the melancholy ſignals for a ſpeedy deliverance. Indeed, great was my ſorrow, upon this occaſion, but altogether vain and fruitleſs. However, I brought together all the dry wood that was at hand, and, making a handſome pile, ſet it on fire on the hill. Certain it was, that they plainly perceived it, by their firing another gun, as ſoon as it began to blaze, and after that ſeveral more from the ſame quarter. All the night long did I keep up this fire; and when the air cleared up, I perceived ſomething a great way at ſea directly eaſt, but could not diſtinguiſh what it was, even with my glaſs, by reaſon the weather was ſo very foggy out at ſea. However, keeping my eyes directly fixt upon it, and perceiving it not to ſtir, I preſently concluded it muſt be a ſhip at anchor: And ſo very haſty I was to be ſatisfied, that, taking my gun, I went to the ſouth-eaſt

part of the iſland, to the ſame rocks where I had been formerly drove away by the current; in which time the weather being perfectly cleared up, to my great ſorrow, I perceived the wreck of a ſhip caſt away upon thoſe hidden rocks, which I found when I was out with my boat; and which, by making a kind of an eddy, were the occaſion of my preſervation.

Thus, what is one man's ſafety is another's ruin: For undoubtedly this ſhip had been driven on them in the night, the wind blowing ſtrong at E. N. E. Now, had they perceived the iſland, as I could not imagine they did, certainly, inſtead of firing their guns for help, they might rather have ventured in their boat, and ſaved themſelves that way. Then I thought, that perhaps they had done ſo, upon ſeeing my fire, and were caſt away in the attempt; for I perceived no boat in the ſhip. Again, I imagined, that perhaps they had another veſſel in company, which, upon ſignal, ſaved their lives, and took the boat up: Or laſtly, that the boat might be driven into the main ocean, where theſe poor creatures might be in the moſt miſerable condition. But as all theſe conjectures were very uncertain, I could do no more than commiſerate their diſtreſs, and thank God for delivering me, in particular, when ſo many periſhed in the raging ocean.

When I conſidered ſeriouſly every thing concerning this wreck, I could perceive no room to ſuppoſe any of them ſaved: I cannot explain, by any poſſible force of words, what longings my ſoul felt upon this ſight, often breaking out in this manner: Oh! that there had been but two or three, nay even one perſon ſaved, that we might have lived together, converſed with and comforted one another! And ſo much were my deſires moved, that when I repeated theſe words, *Oh! that there had been but one!* my hands would ſo clench together, and my fingers preſs the palms of my hands ſo cloſe, that had any ſoft thing been between

tween, they would have cruſhed it involuntarily; while my teeth would ſtrike together, and ſet againſt each other ſo ſtrong, that it required ſome time for me to part them.

Till the laſt year of my being on this iſland, I never knew if any had been ſaved out of this ſhip or not; and had only the affliction ſome time after, to ſee the corpſe of a drowned boy come on ſhore, at the end of the iſland, which was next the ſhipwreck: There was nothing on him but a ſeaman's waiſtcoat, a pair of open-knee'd linnen drawers, and a blue linnen ſhirt; but no particular mark to gueſs what nation he was of. In his pocket were two pieces of eight and a tobacco-pipe, the laſt of which I perferred much more than I did the firſt. And now the calmneſs of the ſea tempted me to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not only to get ſomething neceſſary out of the ſhip, but perhaps ſome living creature might be on board, whoſe life I might preſerve. This had ſuch an influence upon my mind, that immediately I went home, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the voyage, carrying on board my boat, proviſions of all ſorts, with a good quantity of rum, freſh water, and a compaſs. So putting off, I paddled the canoe along the ſhore, till I came at laſt to the N.E. part of the iſland, from whence I was to launch into the ocean; but here the currents run ſo violently, and appeared ſo terrible, that my heart began to fail me; foreſeeing that if I was driven into any of theſe currents, I might be carried not only out of the reach or ſight of the iſland, but even inevitably loſt in the boiling ſurges of the ocean.

So oppreſſed was I at theſe troubles, that I gave over my enterprize, ſailing to a little creek on the ſhore, where ſtepping out, I ſat me down on a riſing hill, very penſive and thoughtful. I then perceived, that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, which made it impacticable for me to go out for ſo many

hours. To be more certain, how the ſets of the tides or currents lay when the flood came in, I aſcended a higher piece of ground, which overlooked the ſea both ways, and here I found, that as the current of the ebb ſet out cloſe by the ſouth point of the iſland, ſo the current of the flood ſet in cloſe by the ſhore of the north ſide; and all that I had to do, was, to keep to the north of the iſland in my return.

That night I repoſed my ſelf in my canoe, covered with my watch coat inſtead of a blanket, the heavens being my teſter. I ſet out with the firſt of the tide full north, till I felt the benefit of the current, which carried me at a great rate eaſtward, yet not with ſuch impetuoſity as before, as to take from me all government of my canoe; ſo that in two hours time I came up to the wreck, which appeared to me in a moſt melancholy manner. It ſeemed to be a *Spaniſh* veſſel by its building, ſtuck faſt between two rocks; her ſtern and quarter beaten to pieces with the ſea; her main-maſt and fore-maſt were brought off by the board; as much as to ſay, broken ſhort off. As I approached nearer, I perceived a dog on board, who perceiving me coming, yelped and cried, and no ſooner did I call him, but the poor creature jumped into the ſea, out of which I took him almoſt famiſhed with hunger and thirſt: So that when I gave him a cake of bread, no ravenous wolf could devour it more greedily; and he drank to that degree of freſh water, that he would have burſt himſelf had I not hindered him.

[illegible] I met with in the ſhip, were two [illegible] in the cock-room or fore-caſtle, en[illegible] over [illegible]'s arms: Hence I very probably [illegible], that where the veſſel ſtruck in the ſtorm, [illegible] did the waters break in, and [illegible] not being able to bear it, [illegible] conſtant ruſhing in of the waves.

waves. There were ſeveral caſks of liquor, whether wine or brandy, I could not be poſitive, which lay in the lower hold, as were plainly perceptible by the ebbing out of the water, yet were two large for me to pretend to meddle with: Likewiſe I perceived ſeveral cheſts, which I thought might belong to the ſeamen; two of them I got into my boat, without examining then what were in them. Now had the ſtern of the ſhip been fixed, and the fore-part broken off, certain I am I ſhould have made a very proſperous voyage; ſince by what I after found in theſe two cheſts, I could not otherwiſe conclude, but that the ſhip muſt have abundance of wealth on board: nay, if I muſt gueſs by the courſe ſhe ſteered, ſhe muſt have been bound from the *Buenos Ayres* or the *Rio de la Plata*, in the ſouthern part of *America*, beyond the *Braſils*, to the *Havanah*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, and ſo perhaps to *Spain*. What became of the reſt of her ſailors, I could not certainly tell; and all her riches ſignified nothing at that time to any body.

Searching farther, I found a caſk, containing about twenty gallons, full of liquor, which with ſome labour I got into my boat: In a cabin were ſeveral muſkets, which I let remain there, but took away with me a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; I took alſo a fire-ſhovel and tongs, two braſs kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a grid-iron, all which were extreamly neceſſary to me, eſpecially the fire-ſhovel and tongs. And ſo with this cargo, accompanied with my dog, I came away, the tide ſerving for that purpoſe; and that the ſame evening, about an hour within night, I attained the iſland, after the greateſt toil and fatigue imaginable.

That night I repoſed my wearied limbs in the boat, reſolving the next morning to harbour what I had gotten in my new found ſubterraneous grotto,

and not carry my cargo home to my antient caſtle. When I had refreſhed myſelf, and got all my effects on ſhore, I proceeded to examine the particulars: And ſo tapping the caſk, I found the liquor to be a kind of rum, but not like what we had at the *Braſils*, nor indeed near ſo good. At the opening of the cheſt, ſeveral things appeared very uſeful to me: For inſtance, I found in one a very fine caſe of bottles, containing the fineſt and beſt ſorts of cordial waters: Each bottle held about three pints, curiouſly tipt with ſilver. I found alſo two pots full of the choiceſt ſweet-meats, and two more which the water had utterly ſpoiled. There were likewiſe ſeveral good ſhirts, exceedingly welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of linnen white handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths, the former of which were abſolutely neceſſary for wiping my face in a hot day; and in the till, I found three bags of pieces of eight, about eleven hundred in all; in all of which, decently wrapt up in a piece of paper, were ſix doubloons of gold, and ſome ſmall bars and wedges of the ſame metal, which I believe might weigh near a pound. In the other cheſt, which I gueſſed to belong to the gunner's mate, by the mean circumſtances that attended it, I only found ſome cloaths of very little value, except about two pounds of fine glazed powder, in three flaſks, kept, as I believe, for charging their fowling-pieces on any occaſion. So that on the whole, I had no great advantage by this voyage: The money was indeed as mere dirt to me, uſeleſs and unprofitable, all which I would have freely parted with for two or three *Engliſh* pair of ſhoes and ſtockings; things that for many years I had not worn; except lately thoſe which I had taken off the feet of thoſe unfortunate men I found drowned in the wreck, yet not ſo good as *Engliſh* ſhoes, either for eaſe or ſervice: And having found in the ſeamen's cheſt about fifty pieces of eight in rials, but no gold, I

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe what I took from the firſt belonged to an officer, to whom this ſeemed to have a much inferior perſon for its owner. Well, the money as deſpicable as it ſeemed, I likewiſe lugged to my cave, laying it up ſecurely as I did the reſt of my cargo. After I had done all this, I returned back to my boat, rowing or paddling her along till I came to my old harbour, where I carefully laid her up, and ſo made the beſt of my way to my caſtle. When I arrived there, every thing ſeemed ſafe and quiet; ſo that now my only buſineſs, was to repoſe myſelf after my wanted manner, and take care of my domeſtic affairs. But tho' I might have lived very eaſy, as wanting for nothing abſolutely needful, yet ſtill I was more vigilant than uſual on account of the ſavages, never going much abroad; or if I did it was to the *Eaſt* part of the iſland, where I was well aſſured that the ſavages never came, and where I might not be troubled to carry that heavy load of weapons for my defence, as I was obliged to do if I went the other way.

Two years did I live in this anxious condition, in all which time, contrary to my former reſolutions, my head was filled with nothing but projects and deſigns how I might eſcape from this iſland: And ſo much were my wandering thoughts bent on a rambling diſpoſition, that had I the ſame boat that I went from *Sale* in, I ſhould have ventured once more to the uncertainty of the raging ocean.

But certainly I was an unhappy inſtance of that part of mankind, who made themſelves wretched by their diſſatisfaction with the ſtation which God has placed them in: For, not to take a review of my primitive condition, and my father's excellent advice, the contrary to which was, as I may ſay, my *original ſin*, my following miſtakes, of the ſame nature, had been the means of my preſent unhappy ſtation. What buſineſs had I to leave a ſettled fortune, and well ſtocked plantation, improving and increaſing, where

where by this time I might have been worth a hundred thouſand moidores, to turn ſupra cargo to *Guinea*, to fetch *Negroes*, when time and patience would have ſo much enlarged our ſtock at home, as to be able to employ thoſe, whoſe more immediate buſineſs it was to fetch them home, even to our doors?

But as this is very common the fate of young heads, ſo as a ſerious reflection upon the folly of it, ordinarily attends the exerciſe of future years, when the dear-bought experience of time is ſo much repented of. Thus it was with me at that ſeaſon; but notwithſtanding what I had, or might ſuffer upon theſe occaſions, the thoughts of my deliverance ran ſo ſtrongly in my mind, as ſeemed to check all the dictates of my poor reaſon and philoſophy. And now to uſher my kind reader, with greater pleaſure to the remaining part of my relations, I flatter myſelf it will not be taken amiſs to give him an account of my firſt conceptions on the manner of eſcaping, and upon what foundation I laid out my fooliſh ſchemes.

I muſt now ſuppoſe myſelf retired to my caſtle after my late voyage to the ſhip, my frigate laid up and ſecured, as uſual, and my condition in the ſame manner as before, except being richer; tho' I had as little occaſion for riches as the *Indians* of *Peru* had for gold, before the cruel *Spaniards* came among them. One night in *March*, being the rainy ſeaſon, in the four and twentieth year of this my ſolitude, I was laying on my bed awake, very well in health, without diſtemper, pain or uncommon uneaſineſs, either of body or mind; yet for all this, I could not compoſe myſelf to ſleep the night long. All this tedious while, it is impoſſible to expreſs what innumerable thoughts came into my head: I traced quite over the whole hiſtory of my life in miniature, from my utmoſt remembrance of things, till I came to this iſland;

and

and then proceeded to examine every action and paſſage that had occurred, ſince I had taken poſſeſſion of my kingdom. In my reflections upon the latter, I was comparing my happy poſture of affairs in the begining of my reign, to this life of anxiety, fear and concern, ſince I diſcovered the print of a foot in the ſand; that while I continued free without notions, I was incapable of forming any dreadful apprehenſions; tho' I ought rather to be thankful for the knowledge of my danger, ſince then it was the greateſt happineſs to have ſufficient time to provide for my reflection: How ſtupendous is the goodneſs of providence, which ſets ſuch narrow bounds to the ſight and knowledge of human nature, that while men walk in the midſt of ſo many dangers, they are kept ſerene and calm, by having the event of things hid from their eyes, and knowing nothing at all of thoſe many dangers that ſurround them, till perhaps they are diſſipated and vaniſhed quite away.

And when I came more particularly to conſider of the real danger I had for ſo many years eſcaped; how I had walked about in the greateſt ſecurity and tranquillity at a time, perhaps when even nothing but the brow of a hill, a great tree, or the common approach of night, had only interpoſed between me and the deſtructive hands of the cannibals, who would devour me with as good an appetite as I would a pigeon or curlew. Surely all this, I ſay, could not but make me ſincerely thankful to my great preſerver, whoſe ſingular protection I acknowledged with the greateſt humility, and without which I muſt inevitably have fallen into the cruel hands of theſe devourers.

Thus having diſcuſſed theſe thoughts in the cleareſt manner, according to my weak underſtanding, I next proceeded to conſider the wretched nature of theſe deſtroying ſavages, by ſeeming, tho' with great reverence, to inquire why God ſhould give up any

of

objection reaſonably interpos'd: How can I effect this (thought I) without I attack a whole caravan of 'em, and kill them all? Why ſhould I proceed on ſuch a deliberate attempt, which before my ſcruples had ſuggeſted to me were unlawful, and made my heart tremble at the thoughts of ſo much blood, tho' it were a means to procure my deliverance! And tho' I might, according to my reaſon, ſuppoſe that theſe men were the real enemies to my life, and would devour me, was it in their power, ſo that it was ſelf-preſervation in the higheſt degree, to free myſelf from this dread of life, by acting in my own defence, as if they were actually aſſaulting me: Tho' all theſe things, I ſay, ſeem'd to me to be of the greateſt weight; yet, as I juſt ſaid before, the dreadful thoughts of ſhedding human blood, ſtruck ſuch a terror to my ſoul, that it was a long time before I could reconcile myſelf.

But how far will the ardency of deſire prompt us on? For notwithſtanding the many diſputes and perplexities I had with myſelf about it, right or wrong, I was reſolved to get one of theſe ſavages into my hands, let it coſt what it would, or loſe my life in the attempt. Thus inſpired with a firm reſolution, all my wits were at work, in the next place, to find out what methods I ſhould take to anſwer my deſign; and this indeed was very difficult to reſolve on. Since then I could not pitch upon any probable means for it, I reſolved continually to be in a vigilant poſture, to perceive when the ſavages came on ſhore, and ſo leave the reſt of the event, let the opportunities offer as they would.

Such was my fixed reſolution, and accordingly I ſet myſelf upon the ſcout, as often as I could, till ſuch time as I was heartly tired of it. I waited for above a year and a half, the greateſt part of which time I went out to the weſt end, and ſouth weſt corner of the iſland, almoſt every day, to ſee for canoes, none

ſione appeared. This was a very great diſcouragement, at which I was very much concerned; yet never did this wear off the edge of my deſire to the thing; but the longer it ſeemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: In a word, I was never at firſt ſo careful to ſhun the loathed ſight of theſe ſavages, as I was now eager to be upon them. Beſides, I thought myſelf ſufficiently able to manage one, two or three ſavages if I had them, ſo as to make them my entire ſlaves, to do whatſoever I ſhould direct them, and prevent their being able at any time to do me a miſchief. Many a time did I uſe to pleaſe myſelf with this affair, with long and ardent expectations; but nothing yet preſented, all my deep projected ſchemes and numerous fancies vaniſhed away, as tho' while I retained thoſe thoughts, the decree of providence was ſuch, that no ſavages were to come near me.

It was about a year and a half, that as I was moſt ſeriouſly muſing of ſundry ways how I ſhould attain my end, one morning early I was very much ſurpriſed by ſeeing no leſs than five canoes all on ſhore together on my ſide the iſland, and the creatures that belonged to them all landed, and out of my ſight. Such a number of them diſconcerted all my meaſures; for ſeeing ſo many boats, each of which would contain ſix, and ſometimes more, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to order my meaſures, to attack twenty or thirty men ſingle handed: Upon which much diſcomforted and perplexed, I lay ſtill in my caſtle; however I put myſelf in the ſame poſture for an attack, that I had formerly provided againſt, and was ready to enter upon an engagement, ſhould they attempt it. But when I had waited a long while, till ſuch time as my impatient temper would let me bear it no longer, I ſet my guns at the foot of my ladder, and as uſual aſcended up to the top of the hill at two ſtages; however, ſtanding that my head did not appear above the hill ſo that by any means they could not perceive

me; and here I obſerved by the aſſiſtance of my perſpective glaſs, no leſs than thirty in number around a fire, feaſting upon what meat they had dreſſed: How they cooked it, or what it was, I could not then perfectly tell; but they were all dancing and capering about the flames, uſing many frightful, and barbarous geſtures.

But while with a curious eye I was beholding theſe wretches, my ſpirits ſunk within me, when I perceived them drag two miſerable creatures from the boats to act a freſh the dreadful tragedy, as I ſuppoſed they had done before. It was not long before one of them fell upon the ground, knocked down as I ſuppoſed, with a club, or wooden ſword; for that was their manner, while two or three others went immediately to work, cutting him open for their cookery, and then fell to devour him as they had done the former, while the laſt unhappy captive was left by himſelf till ſuch time as they were ready for him. The poor creature looked round him with a wiſhful eye, trembling at the thoughts of death, yet ſeeing himſelf a little at liberty, nature that very moment, as it were inſpired him with hopes of life, that he ſtarted away from them, and ran with incredible ſwiftneſs along the ſands directly to that part of the coaſt where my ancient and venerable caſtle ſtood.

You may imagine I was dreadfully affrighted upon this occaſion, when as I thought, they purſued him in a whole body, all runing towards my palace. And now indeed I expected that part of my dream was going to be fulfilled, and that he would certainly fly to my grove for protection; but for the reſt of my dream I could depend nothing on it, that the ſavages would purſue him thither and find him there. However my ſpirits beginning to recover, I ſtill kept upon my guard, when I plainly perceived there were but three men out of the number, that purſued him; and I was infinitely pleaſed with what ſwiftneſs

neſs the poor creature ran from his purſuers, gaining much ground of them, that I plainly perceived, could he thus hold it for half an hour, there was not the leaſt doubt but he would ſave his life from the power of his enemies.

Between them and my caſtle there was a creek, that very ſame where I ſailed into with all my effects from the wreck of the ſhip, on the ſteep banks of which I very much feared the poor victim would be taken, if he could not ſwim for his eſcape: But ſoon was I out out of pain for him when he made nothing of it tho' at full tide; but with an intrepid courage, ſpurred on by the ſenſe of danger, he plunged into the flood, ſwiming over in about thirty ſtrokes, and then landing, ran with the ſame wonderful ſtrength and ſwiftneſs as before. When the three purſuers came to the creek, one of them, whom I perceived could not ſwim, happily, for his part, returned back to his company; while the others with as equal courage, but much leſs ſwiftneſs, attained the other ſide, as tho' the were never reſolved to give over their purſuit. And now, or never, I thought was the time for me to procure a ſervant, companion or aſſiſtant; and that I was decreed by providence to be the inſtrument that ſhould ſave this poor creature's life. I immediately deſcended my two ladders with the greateſt expedition, I took up my two guns, which I ſaid before were at the bottom of them; and getting up again, with the ſame haſte towards the hill, I made nearer the ſea: In a word taking a ſhort cut down the hill, I interpoſed between the purſuers and the purſued, hallowing aloud to the latter, who venturing to look back, was no doubt at firſt as much terrified at me as at them. I beckoned to him with my hand to return back, in the mean time ſlowly advancing towards the purſuers; when ſuddenly ruſhing on the foremoſt, I knocked him down with the ſtock of my piece, and laid him

flat on the ground. I was very unwilling to fire leſt the reſt ſhould hear, tho' at that diſtance I queſtion whether they could or not; and being out of ſight of the ſmoak, they could not eaſily have known what to make of it. The other ſavage ſeeing his fellow fall, ſtopt as if he had been amazed, when advancing towards him, I could perceive him take his bow from his back, and fixing an arrow to it, was preparing to ſhoot at me, and without diſpute might have lodged the arrow in my breaſt, had I given him leave; but in this abſolutely neceſſary cauſe of ſelf-preſervation, I immediately fired at him, and ſhot him dead, juſt as his hand was going to draw the fatal ſtring. All this while the ſavage, who had fled before, ſtood ſtill, had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemies fall, or killed as he thought, who deſigned to take away his life: So affrighted was he with the fire and noiſe of my piece, that he ſtood, as it were, like *Lot*'s wife, fixt and immoval, without ſenſe, and without motion. This made me hollow to him again, making the plaineſt ſigns I could to him to draw nearer: I perceived he underſtood theſe tokens, by his approaching to me a little way, when, as if afraid I ſhould kill him too, he ſtopt again. Several times did he advance, and as often ſtopt in this manner, till coming more to my view, I perceived him trembling, as if he was to undergo the ſame fate. Upon which I looked upon him with a ſmiling countenance, and ſtill beckoning to him at length he come cloſe to me, kneeled down, kiſſed the ground, laid his head upon it, and taking me by my foot, ſet the ſame upon his head: And this, as I underſtood afterwards, was a token of ſwearing to be my ſlave for ever. I took him up, and making very much of him, encouraged him in the beſt manner I could. But here my work was not yet finiſhed; for I pevceived the ſavage whom I knocked down, was not killed, but ſtunned with the blow, and began to come to himſelf. Upon which

I pointed to my new ſervant and ſhewing him that his enemy was not yet expired, he ſpoke ſome words to me, but what I could not underſtand; yet being the firſt ſound of a man's voice I had heard for above theſe twenty five years, they were very pleaſing to me. But there was no time for reflection now, the wounded ſavage recovering himſelf ſo far as to ſit upon the ground, which made my poor priſoner as much afraid as before: To put him out of which fear I preſented my other gun at the man, with an intent to ſhoot him; but my ſavage, for ſo I muſt now call him, prevented my firing, by making a motion to me to lend him my ſword, which hung naked in a belt by my ſide. No ſooner did I grant his requeſt, but away he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head, as dexteronſly as the moſt accompliſh'd executioner in *Germany* could have done: For it ſeems theſe creatures make uſe of wooden ſwords, made of hard wood, which will bear an edge, enough to cut off heads and arms at one blow. When this valorous exploit was done, he came to me laughing, as a token of triumph, delivered me my ſword again with abundance of ſurprizing geſtures, laying it along, with the bleeding and ghaſtly head of the *Indian* at my feet.

The greateſt aſtoniſhment that my new ſervant conceived was the manner of killing the ſavage at ſuch a diſtance without a bow and arrow: and ſuch was his longing deſire to know it, that he firſt pointed to the dead creature, and then made ſigns to me to grant him leave to go to him. Upon which I bid him go, and as well as I could made him ſenſible I granted his requeſt. But when he came there, how wonderfully was he ſtricken with amazement! firſt he turned him on one ſide, then on another, wondering he could perceive no quantity of blood, he bleeding inwardly: And after ſufficiently admiring the wound the bullet had made in his breaſt, he took up his bow and arrows,

rows, and came back again; upon which I turned to go away, making many ſigns to him to follow, leaſt the reſt, miſſing their companions, might come in purſuit of him. And this I found he underſtood very well, by his making me underſtand that his deſign was to bury them, that it might not be ſeen if it happened; and which by ſigns again, I made him ſenſible I very much approved of. Immediately he fell to work, and never was grave-digger more dexterous in the world than he was; for in an inſtant, as I might ſay, he ſcraped a large hole in the ſand with his hands, ſufficient to bury the firſt in; there he dragged him, and without any ceremony covered him over. In like manner he ſerved the other: So that I am ſure no undertaker could be more expert in his buſineſs, for all this was done in leſs than a quarter of an hour. I then called him away, and inſtead of carrying him directly to my caſtle at firſt, I conveyed him to my cave on the further part of the Iſland: And ſo my dream was not fulfilled in that particular, that my grove ſhould prove an aſſylum or ſanctuary to him.

Weary and faint, hungry and thirſty, undoubtedly muſt this poor creature be, ſupported chiefly by that vivacity of ſpirit, and uncommon tranſports of joy, that his deliverance occaſioned. Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raiſins to eat, and water to drink, of which feeding very chearfully, to his exceeding refreſhment, I made him a convenient bed with a parcel of rice ſtraw, and a blanket upon it, (a bed which I uſed myſelf ſometimes) and then pointing to him made ſigns for him to lie down to ſleep, upon which the poor creature went to take a welcome repoſe.

Indeed he was a very comely handſome young fellow, extremly well made, with ſtrait long limbs, not too large; tall, and well ſhaped; and, as I could reckon, about twenty-ſix years of age. His countenance

tenance had nothing in it fierce and ſurly, but rather a ſort of majeſty in his face; and yet, eſpecially when he ſmiled, he had all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of an *European*. His hair was not curled like wool, as many of the *Blacks* are, but long and black, with the moſt beautiful, yet careleſs treſſes ſpreading over his ſhoulders He had a very high and large forehead, with a great vivacity and ſparkling ſharpneſs in his eyes. His ſkin was not ſo tawny as the *Virginians*, *Braſilians*, or other *Americans*, but rather of a bright dun olive colour, that had ſomething agreeable in it, tho' not very eaſy to give a deſcription of. His face was round and plump, with a ſmall noſe, very different from the flatneſs of the negroes, a pretty ſmall mouth, thin lips, fine teeth, very well ſet, and white as the driven ſnow. In a word, ſuch handſome features, and exactly ſymetry in every part, made me conſider, that I had ſaved the life of an *Indian* prince, no leſs graceful and accompliſhed, than the great *Oroonoko*, whoſe memorable behaviour, and unhappy contingencies of life, has charmed the world both to admiration of his perſon, and compaſſion to his ſufferings.

But let him be either prince or peaſant, all my happineſs centered in this, that I had now got a good ſervant, or companion, to whom, as he deſerved, I was reſolved to prove a kind maſter, and laſting friend. He had not, I think, ſtept above an hour, but he awakened again, and while I was milking my goats hard by, out he run, from the cave towards me in my encloſure, and laying himſelf down on the ground in the loweſt proſtration, made all the antick geſtures imaginable, to expreſs his thankfulneſs to me for being his deliverer. I confeſs, tho' the manner of his behaviour ſeemed to be ludicrous enough to occaſion laughter; yet I was very much moved at his affection ſo that my heart melted within me, fearing he might die away in exceſs of joy, like reprieved malefactors;

factors; and then I was incapable either to let him blood, or adminiſter phyſic. And I wiſh many chriſtians would take example by this heathen, to have a laſting remembrance of thoſe great benefits and deliverences they have received, by the kind meditation and powerful interpoſition of their benefactors and deliverers: And I ſhould be glad alſo, if I had no occaſion to blame many, who inſtead of thankfully acknowledging theſe kind of favours and benefits, rather abuſe and contemn thoſe good perſons who have been the principal inſtruments to ſave them from deſtruction.

But leaving theſe very juſt reflections, I muſt return to the object that occaſioned them: For my man, to conclude the laſt ceremony of obedience, laid down his head again on the ground, cloſe to my foot, and ſet my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, making all the ſigns of ſubjection, ſervitude and ſubmiſſion immaginable, to let me underſtand he would ſerve me as long as his life endured. As I underſtood him in many things, I made him ſenſible I was very well pleaſed with him; and in a little time I began to ſpeak to him, and learn him how to talk to me again. In the firſt place I made him to underſtand his name to be *Friday*, becauſe it was upon that day I ſaved his life: Then I taught him to ſay *Maſter*, which I made him ſenſible was to be my name. I likewiſe learned him to ſay *yes* and *no*, and to know what they meant. I gave him ſome milk in an earthen pot, making him view me while I drank it before him, and ſopt my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread, cauſing him to do the like, to which he readily conſented, making ſigns of the greateſt ſatisfaction immaginable.

All that night did I keep him there, but no ſooner did the morning light appear, when I ordered him to ariſe and come along with me, with certain tokens that I would give him ſome cloaths like mine; at which

which he ſeemed very glad, as being ſtark naked, not ſo much as any thing to cover what ought to be concealed. As we paſſed by the place where the two men had been interred, my man pointed directly to their graves, ſhewing me the marks that he had made to find them again; giving me to underſtand by ſigns, that he ſhould dig them up and devour them: Upon which I appeared extremely diſpleaſed, expreſſed my utmoſt abhorrence, made as if I would vomit at the apprehenſions of it, beckoning him with my hand to come away, which he did with the greateſt reverence aud ſubmiſſion. After this I conducted him to the top of the hill, to view if the reſt of the ſavages were yet remaining there; but when I looked through my perſpective glaſs, I could ſee no appearance of them, nor of their canoes, ſo that it was very evident they never minded their deceaſed companions whom we had ſlain, which if they had, they would ſurely have ſearched for, or left one boat behind for them to follow, after they returued to their purſuit.

But ſtill my curioſity and deſire of ſatisfaction animating my ſpirit with freſh courage, I took my man *Friday* with me, putting a ſword into his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I perceived he could uſe very dexterouſly, cauſing him to carry one gun for me, and I two for myſelf; and thus equipped againſt all attacks, away we marched directly to the place of their bloody entertainment. But when I came there, I was ſtricken with the uſual horror at ſo dreadful a ſpectacle; whilſt *Friday* indeed was no way concerned about it; being, no doubt, in his turn like one of theſe devourers. Here lay ſeveral human bones, there ſeveral pieces of mangled fleſh, half eaten, mangled and ſcorched; whilſt ſtreams of blood ran promiſcuouſly as waters from a fountain. As I was muſing in this dreadful ſight, *Friday* took all the pains he could, by particular ſigns, to make me underſtand, that they had brought over four priſoners to

feaſt

feaſt upon, three of which they had eaten, and that as he was the fourth, pointing to himſelf: That there having been a bloody battle between them and his great king, in the juſt defence of whom he was taken priſoner, with many others; all which were carried to ſeveral places to be devoured by their conquerors, and that it was his misfortune to be brought hither by theſe wretches, for the ſame purpoſe.

After I was made ſenſible of theſe things, I cauſed *Friday* to gather thoſe horrid remains, and lay them together upon a heap, which I ordered to be ſet on fire, and ſo burnt them to aſhes: And ſtill I found my man retained the nature of a cannibal, having a hankering ſtomack after ſome of the fleſh: But ſuch an extream abhorrance did I expreſs at the laſt appearance of it, that he durſt no otherwiſe than conceal; for I made him very ſenſible that if he offered any ſuch thing I would certainly ſhoot him.

All this being done, I carried my man with me to my caſtle; and then I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had taken out of the poor gunner's cheſt before-mentioned; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well: In the next place I made him a jerkin of goats-ſkin, ſuch as my ſkill was able to manage, tho' I thought my ſelf then a tolerable good taylor. I gave him alſo a cap, which I made of a hare-ſkin, very convenient and faſhionable. Thus being clothed tolerably well, my man was no leſs proud of his habit, than I was in ſeeing him in it. Indeed he went very aukwardly in theſe things at firſt, the drawers being too heavy on his thighs, not uſed to bear any weight, and the ſleeves of the waiſtcoat galled his ſhoulders, and the inſide of his arms; but a little eaſing them, where he complained they hurt him, and uſing himſelf to them, at length he took to them very well.

My next concern was where I ſhould lodge him; and that I might do very well by him, and yet be perfectly

fectly eaſy myſelf, I erected a tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inſide of the laſt, and outſide of the firſt: And as there was an entrance or door in my cave, I made a formal framed door-caſe, and a door to open on the inſide. I barred it up in the night time, taking in my ladders too; ſo that was my man to prove treacherous, there would be no way to come at me in the inſide of my innermoſt wall, without making ſo much noiſe in getting over, that it muſt needs waken me; for my firſt wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, ſpreading over my tent, and leaning up to the ſide of the mountain, which was again laid croſs with ſmaller ſticks inſtead of laths, and thatched over a great thickneſs with the rice ſtraw, which was as ſtrong as reeds; and at the hole of the place, left on purpoſe to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which if it had been attempted on the outſide, would not have opened at all, but have fallen down and made a great noiſe; and as to my weapons, every night I took them all to my bed's ſide.

But there was no occaſion for this precaution; for ſurely never maſter had more ſincere, faithful and loving ſervant than *Friday* proved to me, without paſſions, ſullenneſs or deſigns, perfectly obliging and engaging: His affections were as much tied to me, as thoſe of a child to his parents; and I might venture to ſay, he would have ſacrificed his life for the ſaving of mine, upon any occaſion whatſoever. And indeed the many teſtimonies he gave me of this, very ſufficiently convinced me, that I had no occaſion to uſe theſe precautions. And here I could not but reflect, with great wonder, that however it has pleaſed the almighty in his providence, and in the government of the creation, to take from ſo great a part of the world of his creatures, the nobleſt uſes to which their faculties, and the powers of their ſouls are adapted; yet that he

eſpecially when I conſidered how mean a uſe we
of all theſe, even though we have theſe powe
lightened by the holy ſpirit of God, and by the l
ledge of his word, as an addition to our under
ing; and why it has pleaſed the heavenly wiſd
conceal the like ſaving knowledge from ſo
millions of ſouls, who would certainly make a
better uſe of it, than mankind generally does
time. And theſe reflections would ſometime
him ſo far, as to invade the ſovereignty of provi
and, as it were, arraign the juſtice of ſuch ar
diſpoſition of things, that ſhould obſcure that
from ſome, and reveal it to others, and yet ex
like duty from all. But I cloſed it up, checki
thoughts with this concluſion; *firſt*, that we
ignorant of that right and law by which theſe
be condemned; but that, as the almighty was
ſarily, and by the nature of his eſſence, infi
juſt and holy; ſo it could not be otherwiſe, bu
if theſe creatures were all deſtined to abſence
himſelf, it was on account of ſinning againſt tha
which, as the ſcriptue ſays, was a law to them
and by ſuch rules as their conſcience would acl

I had not been above two or three days returned to my caſtle, but my chief deſign was, how I ſhould bring *Friday* off from his horrid way of feeding; and to take from him that inhuman reliſh he, by nature, had been accuſtomed to, I thought it my duty to let him taſte other fleſh, which might the rather tempt him to the ſame abhorrence I ſo often expreſſed againſt their accurſed way of living. Upon which, one morning, I took him out with me, with an intention to kill a kid out of the flock, and bring it home and dreſs it: But as I was going, I perceived a ſhe-goat lying down in the ſhade and two young kids ſitting by her. Immediately I catched hold of my man *Friday*, and bidding him ſtand ſtill, and not ſtir, I preſented my piece, and ſhot one of the kids. My poor ſervant, who had at a diſtance perceived me kill his adverſary, and yet did not know by what means, or how it was done, ſtood trembling and ſurpriſed, and looked ſo amazed, that I thought he would have ſunk into the earth. He did not ſee the kid I aimed at, or beheld I had killed it, but ript up his waiſtcoat to ſee if he was not wounded, thinking my reſolution was to kill him; ſo coming to me, he fell on his knees, earneſtly pronouncing many things which I did not not underſtand, the meaning of which at length I perceived was, that I would not take away his life.

Indeed I was much concerned to ſee him in that condition where nature is upon the ſevereſt trial, when the immediate hand of death is ready to put for ever a period to this mortal life: And indeed ſo much compaſſion had I for this creature, that it was with difficulty I refrained from tears. But however as another ſort of countenance was neceſſary, to convince him that I would do him nö harm, I took him ſmiling by the hand, then laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had ſlain, made ſigns to him to fetch it, which accordingly he did. No leſs curious was he in viewing how the creature was killed, than he

had been before in beholding the *Indian*; while he was admiring it, I charged my gun again, and preſently perceived a great fowl like a hawk, perching upon a tree within ſhot; and therefore to let *Friday* underſtand what I was going to do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which I found to be a parrot. I made him underſtand that I would ſhoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bad him look, when immediately he ſaw the parrot fall down. Again he ſtood like one amazed, notwithſtanding all I had ſaid to him; and the more confounded he was, becauſe he did not perceive me put any thing into my gun. Undoubtedly, a thing ſo utterly ſtrange, carrying death along with it, far or near, either to man or beaſt, muſt certainly create the greateſt aſtoniſhment to one who never had heard of ſuch a thing in his whole life: And really his amazement continued ſo long, that had I allowed it, he would have proſtrated himſelf before me and my gun, with the greateſt worſhip and adoration. As for the gun in particular, he would not ſo much as ſuffer his fingers to touch it for ſeveral days after; but would come and communicate his thoughts to it, and talk to it, as if the ſenceleſs piece had underſtood and anſwered him: All this I could perceive him do, when he thought my back was turned; the chief intent of which was, to deſire it not to kill him, as I afterwards came to underſtand.

I never ſtrove to prevent his admiration, nor hinder him from thoſe comical geſtures he uſed on ſuch occaſions: But when his aſtoniſhment was a little over, I made tokens to him to run and fetch the parrot that I had ſhot, which he accordingly did, ſtaying ſome time longer than uſual, by reaſon the bird not being quite dead, had fluttered ſome way farther from the place where he fell. In the mean time as he was looking for her, I took the advantage of charging my gun again, that I might be ready for another mark that

that might offer itſelf; but nothing more occured at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the ſame evening took off the ſkin, and divided the carcaſe as well as I could. Part of this fleſh I ſtewed, or boiled, in a pot I had for this occaſion. And then ſpreading my table, I ſat down, giving my man ſome to eat too, who was wonderfully pleaſed, and ſeemed to like it very well; but what was moſt ſurpriſing to him, was to ſee me eat ſalt with it: Upon which he made me to underſtand, that the ſalt was very bad for me; when putting a little into his mouth, he ſeemed to nauſeate it in ſuch a manner as to ſpit and ſputter at it, and then waſhed his mouth with freſh water: But to ſhew him, how contrary his opinion was to mine, I put ſome meat in my mouth without ſalt, and feigned to ſpit and ſputter as much for the want of it, as he had done at it: Yet all this proved of no ſignification to *Friday*: And it was a long while before he could endure ſalt in his meat or broth, and even then, but a very ſmall quantity.

Thus having fed him ſufficiently with boiled meat and broth that time, the next day I was reſolved to feaſt him with a roaſted piece of the kid. And having no ſpit to faſten it, nor jack to turn it, I made uſe of that common artifice, which many of the people of *England* have; that is, to ſet two poles upon each ſide of the fire, and one croſs on the top, hanging the meat thereon with a ſtring, and ſo turning round continually, roaſt it, as we read bloody tyrants have cruelly roaſted martyrs. This practiſe cauſed great admiration in my man *Friday*, which is another-gueſt way, to what the barbarous ſavages were accuſtomed. But when he came to taſte the ſweetneſs and tenderneſs of the fleſh, he expreſt his entire ſatisfaction in above a thouſand different ways. And as I could not but underſtand his meaning, you may be ſure I was wonderfully pleaſed; eſpecially when he made

it alſo very plain to me, that he would never, whilſt he lived eat man's fleſh more.

Well, now it was high time I ſhould ſet my ſervant to work; and ſo the next day I put him to beat out ſome corn, and ſift it in the ſame manner as I had done before. And really the fellow was very quick and handy in the execution of any thing I ordered him to go about. I made him underſtand that it was to make bread for us to eat, and after let him ſee me make and bake it: In ſhort, he did every thing as I ordered him, in a little time, as well as I could do it myſelf.

When I conſidered, that I had two mouths to feed inſtead of one, I was neceſſarily obliged to think that, in conſequence thereof, I muſt provide more ground for my harveſt, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I commonly uſed to do; upon which I marked out a bigger piece of land, fencing it in the ſame manner as I had done before; in the execution of which I muſt give *Friday* this good word, that no man could work more hard or willingly than he did: And when I made him ſenſible that it was for bread to ſerve him as well as me; he then very paſſionately made me underſtand, that he thought I had much more labour on me on his account alone, than I had for myſelf; and that no pains or diligence ſhould be wanting in him, if I would but direct him in thoſe works wherein he might ſucceed:.

I muſt certainly own, that this was the moſt pleaſant year I ever had in the Iſland: For, after ſome time, *Friday* began to talk pretty well, and underſtand the names of thoſe things which I was wont to call for, and the places where I uſed to ſend him. So that my long ſilent tongue, which had been uſeleſs ſo many years, except in an exclamatory manner, either for deliverance or bleſſings, now began to be occupied, in teaching and talking to my man *Friday*; for indeed I had ſuch a ſingular ſatisfaction in the fellow himſelf,

himſelf, ſo innocent did his ſimple and unfeigned honeſty appear more and more to me every day, that I really began entirely to love the creature: And for his part I believe there was no love loſt, and that his nature had been more charmed with my exceeding kindneſs, and his affections more placed upon me, than upon any other object whatſoever among the *Barbarians*. But ſtill I had a great mind to try if he had any hankering inclination to return to his own country again: And by this time having learned him *Engliſh* ſo well, that he could give me tolerable anſwers to any queſtions which I demanded, I aſked him, Whether that nation, to which he belonged, never conquered in battle? This queſtion made *Friday* ſmile, and to which he anſwered, *Yes, yes, we always fight the better*; as much as to ſay, they always got the better in fight. Upon which we proceeded on the following diſcourſe. You ſay, ſaid I, that you always fight the better; why then, *Friday*, how came you to be taken priſoner?

Friday. But for all that my nation beat much.

Maſter. How, ſay you, beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many mans than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me: My nation much over beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation mans beat one, two, three great touſand.

Maſter. Then why did not your men recover you from the hands of your enemies?

Friday. They run, one, two or three, and me; they make all go in the canoo; my nation have no canoo that time.

Maſter. It's very well, *Friday*: But what does your nation do with the priſoners they take? What do they carry them away, and eat them, as theſe have done?

Friday. Yes, yes, my nation eat mans too; tey up all.

Maſter. To what place do they carry them to be devoured?

Friday. Go to other nations where they think.

Maſter. Do they bring them hither?

Friday. Yes, come over hither, come over other place.

Maſter. And have you been with them here *Friday*?

Friday. Yes, me been here: (pointing to the North Weſt of the Iſland, being the ſide where they uſed to land.)

Thus having got what account I could from my man, I plainly underſtood, that he had been as bad as any of the reſt of the canibals, having been formerly among the ſavages, who uſed to come on ſhore on the fartheſt part of the Iſland, upon the ſame bloody occaſions as he was brought here for: And ſome time after I carried him to that place where he pointed; and no ſooner did he come there but he preſently knew the ground, ſignifying to me, that he was once there, when they eat up twenty men, two women and a young child. But as he could not explain the number in *Engliſh*, he did it by ſo many ſtones in a row, making a ſign to me to count them.

This paſſage I have the rather mentioned, becauſe it led to things more important and uſeful for me to know: For after I had this ſatisfactory diſcourſe with him, my next queſtion was, how far it was from the Iſland to the ſhore, and whether the canoes were not often loſt in the ocean? to which he anſwered, there was no danger, no canoes ever loſt; but that after a little way out to the ſea, there was a ſtrong current, and a wind always one way in the afternoon. This I thought at firſt to be no more than the ſets of the tide, of going out, or coming in; but I afterwards underſtood it was occaſioned by the great draft and reflux of the mighty river *Oroonoko*, in the mouth

ch of which I imagined my kingdom lay; and
e land which I perceived to the W. and N. W.
e the great iſland *Trinidad*, on the north of the
A thouſand queſtions (if that would ſatisfy me)
ſk *Friday* about the nature of the country, the
e coaſts, the inhabitants, and what nations
neareſt them: To which queſtions, the poor
declared all he knew, with the greateſt open-
d utmoſt ſincerity. When I demanded of him
rticular names of the various nations of his
people, he could only anſwer me in general,
ey were called *Caribbe*. Hence it was I conſi-
that theſe muſt be the *Caribbees*, ſo much taken
of by our maps to be on that part of *America*,
reaches from the mouth of the river *Oroonoko*
nia, and ſo on to St. *Martha*. Then *Friday*
ded to tell me, that up a great way beyond the
as much as to ſay, beyond the ſetting of the
which muſt be W. from their country, there
white bearded men, ſuch as I was, pointing to
hiſkers, and that they had killed much many
not ignorant with what barbarity the *Spaniards*
theſe creatures; ſo that I preſently concluded
be them, whoſe cruelties had ſpread through
nerica, to be remembered even to ſucceeding
tions.

ll, you may be ſure, this knowledge, which
perfect information of my man had let me
s very comfortable to me, and made me ſo cu-
s to aſk him, how I might depart from this
, and get among thoſe white men? he told me,
I might go in two canoes. In two canoes,
t I, what does my man mean? ſurely he means
himſelf and another for me; and if not, how
wo canoes hold me, without being joined, and
ut one part of my body in one, and the other
her? and indeed it was a long while before I un-
d his meaning, which was, that it muſt be a

large

large boat as big as two canoes, able to bear with the waves, and not ſo liable to be overſet as a ſmall one muſt have been.

I believe there is no ſtate of life but what may be happy, if people would but endeavour for their part to make it ſo. He is not the happieſt man that has the moſt riches, but he that is content with what he hath. Before I had my ſervant, I thought myſelf miſerable till I had him; and now I enjoyed the happy benefits of him, I retained the ſame thoughts for want of a deliverance from a place of retirement, eaſe and plenty, where providence had ſufficiently bleſſed me: In a word, from this time I entertained ſome hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my eſcape from this Iſland, and that this poor ſavage might be a great furtherance thereto.

All the time ſince my man became ſo intelligent as to underſtand and ſpeak to me, I ſpared no pains or diligence to inſtruct him, according to my poor ſhare of knowledge, in the principles of religion, and the adoration that he ought to pay to the true God. One time, as I very well remember, I aſked him who made him? at firſt, the innocent creature did not underſtand what I meant, but rather thought I aſked him, who was his father? upon which I took another way to make him ſenſible, by demanding of him an anſwer to this queſtion. *Friday*, (ſaid I) who is it that made the ſea, this ground whereon we walk, and all theſe hills and woods which we behold? and here indeed I did not miſs of my intention; for he told me it was one old *Benamuckee*, (the God whom I ſuppoſed theſe ſavages adored) who lived a great way beyond all. But as for his attributes, poor *Friday* was an utter ſtranger to them. He could deſcribe nothing of this great perſon; and all that he could ſay was, that he was very old, much older than the ſea and land, the moon, or the ſtars. *Friday*, (ſaid I again) if this great and old perſon has made all things in the

world,

world, how comes it to paſs, that all things, as me in particular, do not adore and worſhip him? upon this looking very grave, with a perfect ſweet look of innocence, he replyed, *maſter, all things ſay O to him*, by which it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed he meant adoration. And where, ſaid I, do the people of your country go when they die? he anſwered, they all go to *Benamuckee*. What, and thoſe people that are eaten up, do they go there? Said he, Benamuckee *love them dearly*; *we pray to* Benamuckee *in de Canoo, and* Benamuckee *would love me, when dey eat a me all up.*

Such diſcourſes as theſe had I with my man, and ſuch made me ſenſible, that the true God is worſhiped, tho' under imperfect ſimilitudes. And that the falſe adoration which the heathens give to their imaginary deity, is as great an argument of the divine eſſence, as the moſt learned atheiſts, *falſely ſo called*, can bring againſt it: For God will be glorified in his works, let the denomination be what it will; and I cannot be of that opinion which ſome conceive, that God ſhould decree men to be damned for want of a right notion of faith, in a place where the power of the Almighty has not permitted it to be preached; and therefore cannot but conclude, that ſince obedience is the beſt ſacrifice, theſe poor creatures, acting by that light and knowledge which they are poſſeſſed of, may undoubtedly obtain a happy ſalvation, tho' not that enjoyment with *Chriſt* as his ſaints, confeſſors and martyrs.

But leaving theſe determinations aſide, more fit for the ableſt divines than me to diſcuſs, I began to inſtruct my ſervant in the ſaving knowledge of the true deity; in which, the directions of God's holy ſpirit aſſiſted me. I lifted up my hands to heaven, and pointing thereto, told him, that the great maker of heaven and earth lived there: That as his infinite power faſhioned this world out of a confuſed *chaos*, and made it in that beautiful frame which we behold

ſo

ſo he governs and preſerves it, by his undoubted knowledge, ſovereign greatneſs, and peculiar providence: That he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, and take every thing away from us: That he was a rewarder and puniſher of good and evil actions: That there was nothing but what he knew, no thoughts ſo ſecret but he could bring to light: And thus by degrees I opened his eyes, and deſcribed to him the manner of the creation of the world, the ſituation of paradice, the tranſgreſſions of our firſt parents, the wickedneſs of God's peculiar people, and the univerſal ſins and abominations of the whole earth. When theſe things were implanted in his mind, I told him, that as God's juſtice was equal to his mercy, he reſolved to deſtroy this world, 'till his ſon, *Jeſus Chriſt*, interpoſed in our behalf, and to procure our redemption, obtained leave of his heavenly Father to come down from heaven into the world, where he took human nature upon him, inſtructed us in our way to eternal life, and died as a ſacrifice for us ſins: That he was now aſcended into heaven, mediating for our pardon, delivering our petitions, and obtaining all thoſe benefits which we aſked in his name, by humble and hearty prayers, which were heard in the throne of heaven. As very frequently I uſed to inculcate things into his mind, *Friday* one day told me, that if our great God could hear us beyond the ſun, he muſt then ſurely be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who lived but a little way, and yet could not hear them, till they aſcended the great mountains, where he dwelt, to ſpeak to him. What, ſaid I, *Friday*, did you go thither to ſpeak to him too? he anſwered, no, they never went that were young men; none but old men, called their *Oowokakee*, meaning the *Indian* prieſts, who went to ſay O, (ſo he called ſaying their prayers) and they returned back, and told them what *Benamuckee* ſaid. From hence I could

could not but obſerve how happy we chriſtians are, who have God's immediate revelation for our certain guide; and that our faith is neither miſled, nor our reaſon impoſed upon, by any ſet of men reſembling theſe *Indian* impoſtors.

But to clear up this palpable cheat to my man *Friday*, I told him, that the pretence of their ancient men going up to the mountains to ſay O to their god *Benamuckee*, was an impoſtor: And that their bringing back an anſwer, was all a ſham, if not worſe; for if there was any ſuch thing ſpoken to them, ſometimes it muſt proceed from an infernal ſpirit. And here I thought it neceſſary to enter into a long diſcourſe with him, which I did after this manner:

Friday, (ſaid I) you muſt know, that before this world was made, there was one almighty power, exiſtent before the beginning, by whoſe power all things were made, and whoſe majeſty ſhall have no end. To be glorified and adored by beings of a heavenly nature, he created angels and archangels, that is, glorious ſpirits reſembling himſelf, to encompaſs round his throne, eternally ſinging forth his praiſe in the moſt heavenly ſounds and divine harmony. And among this heavenly choir, *Lucifer* bore a great ſway, as being then one of the particular favourites of theſe celeſtial abodes: But he, contrary to that duty he owed his heavenly ſovereign, with unbounded ingratitude to his divine creator, not only envyed him that adoration which was his due, but thought to uſurp that throne which he had neither power to keep, nor title to pretend to. He raiſed a diſſention and civil war in heaven, and had a number of angels to take his part. Unbounded folly; ſtupendous pride; thus to hope for victory, and aſpire above his powerful Creator! the deity, not fearful of ſuch an enemy, yet juſtly provoked at this rebellion, commiſſions his archangel St. *Michael* to lead forth the heavenly

heavenly hoſt, and give him battle; the advantage of which was quickly perceived, by *Satan*'s being overthrown, and the prince of the air, (for ſo the Devil was called) with all his fallen angels, driven headlong into a diſmal place, which is called hell.

The recital of this truth made my man give the greateſt attention, and he expreſſed a great ſatisfaction, by his geſtures, that God had ſent the Devil into the deep hole. And then I deſired him to give great heed to what I had further to ſay.

No ſooner (proceeded I) was God freed from, and the heavens clear of this arch-traitor, but the Father ſpeaks to the Son and Holy Spirit, who belonged to his eſſence, yet equal to him in power and glory, *Let us make Man* (ſaid he) *in our own image, after our own likeneſs*, Gen. i. 26. to have dominion over the creatures in the world which we have created. And theſe, he intended, ſhould glorify him in heaven, according to their obedienee in this ſtate of probation on earth, which was as it were to be the ſchool to train them up for thoſe heavenly manſions. Now Satan, ſeeing himſelf foiled, yet that God had not taken the power from him, as prince of the air, which power heaven deſigned he ſhould retain, whereby his creatures might be tried; in revenge to the diſgrace he had received, he tempts *Adam*'s wife, *Eve*, to taſte of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which God had forbidden. He appears to her in the ſhape of a ſerpent, being then a moſt beautiful creature, and tells her, That it was no better than an impoſition which God had put upon her and her huſband, not to eat of that fair fruit which he had created; that the taſte thereof would make them immortal, like God himſelf; and conſequently as great and powerful as he. Upon which, ſhe not only eat thereof herſelf, but made her huſband eat alſo, which brought them both under the heavenly diſpleaſure.

Here

Here *Friday* expreſſed a great concern: *Ah! poor mans!* (cryed he) *naughty Womans! naughty Devil! make God not love de mans, make man like Devil himſelf.*

Friday, ſaid I, God ſtill loved mankind; and tho' the Devil tempted human nature ſo far, he would not ſuffer him to have abſolute power over them. I have told you before of his tender love to his people, till they, like *Lucifer*, diſobeyed his commands and rebelled againſt him; and that even then, how Jeſus Chriſt his only ſon came to ſave ſinners. But ſtill, every man that lives in the world, is under temptation and trial. The Devil has yet a power, as prince of the air, to ſuggeſt evil cogitations in our minds, and prompt us on to wicked actions, that he might glory in our deſtruction. Whatever evil thoughts we have, proceeded from him. So that God, in this our diſtreſs, expects that we ſhould apply ourſelves to him by fervent prayer for our ſpeedy redreſs: He is not like *Benamuckee*, to let none come near him but *Ooweka-kee*; but ſuffers the people, as well as prieſts, to offer themſelves at his feet, thereby to be delivered from the power and temptation of the Devil.

But tho' at firſt, my man *Friday* expreſſed ſome concern at the wickedneſs of *Lucifer*, I found it not ſo eaſy to imprint the right notions of him in his mind, as it was about the divine eſſence of God: For there nature aſſiſted me in all my arguments to ſhew to him plainly the neceſſity of a great firſt cauſe, and overruling governing power, a ſecret directing providence, and of the equity and reaſonableſs of paying adoration to our creator: Whereas there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil ſpirit, of his firſt beginning, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to evil actions, and his power to tempt us on to the like. And indeed this unlearned *Indian*, by the meer force of nature, puzzled me with one particular queſtion, contrary to whatever I had expected from him.

I had, it ſeems, one day, been talking to him of the omnipotent power of God, and his infinite abhorrence of ſin, inſomuch that the ſcriptures ſtiled him a *conſuming fire* to all ſinful workers of iniquity; and that it was in his power, whenever he pleaſed, to deſtroy all the world in a moment, the greater part of which are continually offending him.

When, with a ſerious attention, he had liſtened a great while to what I ſaid, after I had been telling him, how the Devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and uſed all his malice and ſkill to defeat the good deſigns of providence, and to deſtroy the kingdom of *Chriſt* in the world, and ſo forth: Very well, maſter (ſaid *Friday*) you ſay, God is ſo ſtrong, ſo great, is he not much ſtronger, much mightier than the haughty Devil? to be ſure, *Friday*, ſaid I, God is more wiſe, and ſtronger than the ſerpent: He is above the Devil, which makes us pray to him, that he would tread down Satan under our feet, enable us to reſiſt his violent temptations, and quench his fiery darts. *Why then*, anſwered *Friday* quickly, *if God, as you ſay, has much ſtrong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill Devil, make no more tempt, no more do wicked?*

You may be certain I was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this queſtion of my man's; and tho' an old man, I was but a young doctor, and conſequently very ill qualified for a caſuiſt, or a reſolver of intricate doubts in religion. And as it required ſome time for me to ſtudy for an anſwer, I pretended not to hear him, nor to aſk him what he ſaid: But too earneſt was he for an anſwer, not to forget his queſtion, which he repeated in the very ſame broken words as above. When I had recovered myſelf a little, *Friday* (ſaid I) *God will at laſt puniſh him ſeverely, being reſerved for judgment, and is to be caſt into the bottomleſs pit, to remain in fire everlaſting.* But all this did not ſatisfy *Friday*, for returning upon me, he repeated my words, *reſerve at laſt, me no underſtand; but why not kill Devil now,*

not

not Kill Devil great, great while go? Friday, ſaid I. you may as well aſk me why God does not kill you and I, when by our wicked actions we ſo much offend his divine Majeſty? he gives us time to repent of our ſins, that thereby we may obtain pardon. At theſe words, *obtain pardon*, *Friday* muſed a great while; and at laſt looking me ſtedfaſtly in the face: *Well, well*, ſaid he, *that's very well; ſo you, I Devil, all wicked mans, all preſerve, repent, God pardon all.*

Indeed here I was run down to the laſt extremity, when it became very evident to me, how meer natural notions will guide reaſonable creatures to the knowledge of a deity, and to the homage due to the ſupreme being of God; but however nothing but divine revelation can from the knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of a redemption purchaſed for us, of a mediator of the new covenant, and of an interceſſor at the footſtool of God's throne; and therefore the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, that is, the word and ſpirit of God, promiſed for the guide and ſanctifier of people, are the moſt neceſſary inſtructors of the ſouls of men, in the ſaving knowledge of the almighty, and the means to attain eternal happineſs.

And now I found it neceſſary to put an end to the diſcourſe between my man and me, for which purpoſe I roſe up haſtily, and made as if I had ſome occaſion to go out, ſending *Friday* for ſomething that was a good way off. I then fell on my knees, and beſeeched God that he would inſpire me ſo far, as to guide this poor ſavage in the knowledge of *Chriſt*, to anſwer his queſtions more clearly, that his conſcience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his ſoul ſaved. When he returned again, I entered into a very long diſcourſe with him, upon the ſubject of the world's redemption by the ſaviour of the world, and the doctrine of repentance preached from heaven together with an holy faith in our bleſſed redeemer *Jeſus Chriſt*: And then I proceeded to explain to him, according to my weak capacity,

capacity, the reaſon why our Saviour took not on him the nature of Angels, but rather the ſeed of *Abraham*; and how upon that account the fallen Angels had no benefit by the redemption; and laſtly, that he came only to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of *Iſrael*, and the like. God knows, I had more ſincerity than knowledge in all the ways I took for this poor *Indian*'s Inſtruction; and I muſt acknowledge, that I believe every body that acts upon the ſame principle will find, that in laying heavenly truths open before him, in many things, I informed and inſtructed myſelf, that either I did not know, or had not perfectly conſidered of before? But as I ſearched into them for the information of this poor ſavage, ſo they naturally occurred to my mind; and my enquiry after many things was more affectionate than ever I felt in my life: ſo that however this poor creature might be improv'd by my inſtruction, certain it is, that upon this account I had great reaſon to bleſs kind providence for ſending him to me. His company allayed my grief, and made my habitation more comfortable: And when I reflected that this ſolitary life, to which I had been ſo long confined, had not only moved me to look towards Heaven, but made me the inſtrument, under providence, to ſave the life, and, for aught I knew, the ſoul of a poor ſavage, by bringing him to the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt; this cauſed a ſecret joy to ſpread thro' every part of my ſoul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I once thought to be the moſt miſerable part of the world.

All the remainder of my time did I continue in this thankful frame of mind, and for three years did my man and I live in the greateſt enjoyment and happineſs, by our converſation one with another, as much as I could expect or deſire. And indeed I believe the ſavage was as good a chriſtian as I; tho' I hope we were equally penitent; and ſuch penitents that were comforted and reſtored by God's holy ſpirit: for now

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we had the word of the Lord to inſtruct us in the right way, and we were no farther off the aſſiſtance of the holy ghoſt, than if we had been on the *Engliſh* ſhore.

By the conſtant applications I made of the ſcriptures, as I read them to my man *Friday*, I earneſtly endeavoured to make him underſtand every part of it, as much as lay in my power. He alſo, on the other hand, by his very ſerious queſtions and enquiries, made me a much better proficient in ſcripture-knowledge than I ſhould have been by my own private reading and ſtudy. I muſt not omit another thing proceeding from the experience I had in my retirement; it was, that infinite and inexpreſſible bleſſing, the knowledge of God thro' *Chriſt Jeſus*, which was ſo plain and eaſy to be underſtood, as immediately to direct me to carry on the great work of ſincere repentance for my ſins, and laying hold of a ſaviour for eternal life, to a practical ſtated reformation and obedience to all God's inſtitutions, without the aſſiſtance of a reverend and orthodox divine; and eſpecially by this ſame inſtruction, ſo to enlighten this ſavage creature, as to make him ſuch a good chriſtian as very few could exceed him. And there was only this great thing wanting, that I had no authority to adminiſter the holy ſacrament, that heavenly participation of Chriſt's body and blood; yet however we reſted ourſelves content that God would accept our deſires, and, according to our faith, have mercy on us.

But what we wanted one way was made up in another, and that was, univerſal peace in our little church. We had no diſputes or wranglings about the nature and equality of the holy, bleſſed, and undivided trinity; no niceties in doctrine, or ſchemes of church government; no four-and moroſe diſſenters to impoſe more ſublimated notions upon us, nor pedant ſophiſters to confound us with unintelligible myſteries: but inſtead of all this, we enjoyed the moſt certain guide to heaven; that is, the word of God, beſides which

we had the comfortable views of his ſpirit, leading us unto the truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the inſtruction of his word. And as the knowledge and practice of which are the principal means of ſalvation, I cannot ſee what it avails any chriſtian church or man in the world, to amuſe themſelves with every indifferent ſpeculation and opinion, except thoſe who have a mind to diſplay their particular vanity and affectation.

You may well ſuppoſe that, by theſe common diſcourſes we had together, my man and I became moſt intimately acquainted, and that there was but very little that I could ſay, but *Friday* underſtood, ſpeaking very fluently, tho' indeed it was but broken *Engliſh*. And really I now took a particular pleaſure in relating all my adventures, eſpecially thoſe that occured ſince my being caſt on this iſland. I made him underſtand that wonderful myſtery, as he conceived, of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to ſhoot: I alſo preſented him a knife, which pleaſed him exceedingly; making him a belt with a frog hanging thereto, like thoſe in which we wear hangers in *England*; and inſtead of a hanger to put in that frog, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good, but a more excellent weapon upon any other occaſion. In a word, my man, thus accoutered, looked upon himſelf as great as *Don Quixote*, when that celebrated champion went to combat the wind-mill.

After all this, I gave him a very particular deſcription of the territories of *Europe*, and in a particular manner of *Old England*, the place of my nativity. I laid before him the manner of our worſhipping God, our behaviour to one another, and how we traded in ſhips to every part of the univerſe. I then told him my misfortunes in being ſhipwrecked, ſhowing him, as near as I could, the place where the ſhip lay, which had been long gone before. I brought him to the ruins of our boats, which before my whole ſtrength could

could not move, but now was almoſt rotten and fallen to pieces. I obſerved my man *Friday* to view this boat with an uncommon curioſity, which when he had done, he ſtood pondering a great while and ſaid nothing. At laſt ſaid I, *Friday*, what makes you ponder ſo much? he replyed, *O Maſter, me ſee like boat come to place at my nation.*

I was ſome time indeed before I underſtood what my man meant; but examining farther into it, I plainly found, ſuch another boat, reſembling that, had come to the country where he dwelt; as much as to ſay, by his farther explanation, that the boat was driven there thro' violent ſtorms and ſtreſs of Weather. It preſently came into my mind, that ſome *European* ſhip having been caſt away, the poor diſtreſt creatures were forced to have recourſe to the boat to ſave their lives; and being all, as I thought, drowned, I never concerned myſelf to aſk any thing about them, but my only enquiry was about the boat, and what deſcription my man could give of it.

Indeed *Friday* anſwered my demands very well, making every thing very plain to my underſtanding; but eſpecially I was ſatisfied when he told me, with a great warmth and adour, *O maſter, we ſave white mans from drown:* Upon which I immediately aſked him, if there were any *white mans*, as he called them, in the boat? *yes yes*, ſaid he, *the boat full, very full, white mans.* How many, *Friday?* ſaid I. Hereupon he numbered his fingers and counted ſeventeen. And when I aſked him what became of them all, and whether they lived or not? he replyed, *yes Maſter, they all live, they be live 'mong my Nation.* This plainer information put new thoughts into my head, that theſe muſt be thoſe very men, which before I concluded had been ſwallowed up in the ocean after they had left their ſhip, that had ſtruck upon the rocks of my kingdom; and after eſcaping the fury of the deep, landed upon the wild ſhore, and committed themſelves to the fury of thoſe devouring *Indians.* The

The manner of their cruelties to one another, which conſequently, as I thought, muſt be acted with greater barbarity to ſtrangers, created a great admiration within me, and made me ſtill more curious to aſk *Friday* concerning them: He told me, he was ſure they lived ſtill there, having reſided among them above four years, and the ſavages gave them victuals to live upon. But pray, *Friday*, ſaid I, whence proceeded all this good-nature and generoſity? How came it to paſs that they did not kill and eat them to pleaſe their devouring appetites, and occaſion ſo ſplendid an Entertainment among them? *No no*, ſaid Friday, *they not kill 'em, they make brether with 'em*; by which I underſtood there was a truce between them. And then I had a more favourable opinion of the *Indians*, upon *Friday's* uttering theſe words; *my nation, t'other nation, no eat mans, but when mans make war fight*; as tho' he had ſaid, that neither thoſe of his kingdom, nor any other nation that he knew of, ever eat their fellow-creatures, but ſuch whom their law of arms allowed to be devoured; and they were thoſe miſerable captives, whoſe great misfortune it ſhould be to be made priſoners of war.

Some conſiderable time after, upon a very pleaſant day, in moſt ſerene weather, my man and I ſtood upon the top of a hill, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, whence I had once before beheld the continent of *America*. I could not tell immediately what was the matter, for ſuddenly *Friday* fell a jumping and dancing as if he had been mad; and upon my demanding the reaſon of his behaviour, *O joy!* ſaid he, *O glad! Thers ſee my country, there my nation, there live white mans all gether*. And indeed ſuch a rapturous ſenſe of pleaſure appeared in his countenance, that his eyes had an uncommon ſparkling and brightneſs, and ſuch a ſtrange eagerneſs, as if he had a longing deſire to be in his own country again; and this new obſervation which I had, made me not ſo well ſatisfied with

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my man *Friday* as before; for by this appearance I made no diſpute, but that if he could get back thither again, he would not only be unmindful of what religion I had taught him, but likewiſe of the great obligation that he owed me for his wonderful deliverance: nay, that he would not only inform his countrymen of me, but accompany hundreds of them to my kingdom, and make me a miſerable ſacrifice like thoſe unhappy wretches taken in battle.

Indeed I was very much to blame to have theſe cruel and unjuſt ſuſpicions, and muſt freely own I wronged the poor creature very much, who was quite of a contrary temper; and had he that diſcerning acuteneſs, which many *Europeans* have, he would have perceived my coldneſs and indifference, and alſo have been very much concerned upon this account: For as I was now more circumſpect, I had much leſſened my kindneſs and familiarity with him: And while this jealouſy continued, I uſed that artful way (now too much in faſhion to occaſion ſtrife and diſſenſion) of pumping him daily, thereby to diſcover whether he was deceitful in his thoughts and inclinations: But certainly he had nothing in him but what was conſiſtent with the beſt principles, both as a religious chriſtian and grateful friend; and indeed I found every thing he ſaid was ſo ingenuous and innocent, that I had no room for ſuſpicion, and, in ſpite of all uneaſineſs, he not only made me entirely his own again, but alſo cauſed me much to lament that I ever conceived one ill thought of him.

As we were walking up the ſame hill another day, when the weather being ſo hazy at ſea that I could not perceive the continent, *Friday*, ſaid I, don't you wiſh yourſelf to be in your own country, your own nation, among your old friends and acquaintance? *Yes*, ſaid he, *me much O glad to be at my own nation.* And what would you do there, *Friday*? ſaid I, would you turn wild again, eat man's fleſh, and be a ſavage as you was formerly? *No no*, (anſwered he, full of concern

concern, and shaking his head: Friday *now tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-cake, and not eat man again.* But ſurely I ſaid, if you ſhould offer to do all this, they will kill you, and to manifeſt their contempt of ſuch inhumanity, may eat you up when they have done. He then put on a grave, yet innocent and ſmooth countenance, ſaying, *me tell me, they willing love learn*, that is, that they would be very willing to learn; and to ſhew that, that they had *learn much of the bearded men that came in the boat.* Will you go back again *Friday?* ſaid I. He ſmiled at that, and told me that he could not ſwim ſo far. But, ſaid I, I will make a *Canoe* for you; *yes Maſter*, ſaid he, *me go if you go; me no go if you no go.* I go, *Friday!* ſaid I, why would you have them eat me up, and devour your kind maſter? No no, ſaid he, *me make they no eat maſter, me make they much love you*; that is, he would tell them how I had ſlain his enemies, and thereby ſaved his life, for which reaſon he would make them love me: And then he related to me, as well as he was able, how exceeding kind thoſe of his nation were to the white, or bearded men as he called them, who in their great calamity, were driven into their country.

It was from this time, indeed, I had ſtrong inclinations to venture over, and uſe my utmoſt efforts, if poſſible, to join theſe white bearded men, who undoubtedly were *Spainiards* or *Portugueſe:* For (thought I) it muſt be certainly a better and ſafer way to eſcape when there is a good company, than for me alone, from an iſland forty miles off the ſhore, and without any aſſiſtance. Some days after, *Friday* and I being at work as uſual, at the ſame time diverting ourſelves with various diſcourſes, I told him I had a boat which I would beſtow upon him, whenever he pleaſed to return to his own nation: And, to convince him of the truth of what I ſaid, I took him with me to the other ſide of the iſland where my frigate lay, and then taking

ing it from under the water (for I always kept it ſunk for fear of a diſcovery) we both went into it, to ſee how it would manage ſuch an expedition.

Really never could any be more dexterous in rowing than my faithful ſervant, making the boat go as faſt again as I could. Well now, *Friday*, (ſaid I) ſhall we go to your ſo much deſired nation? But inſtead of meeting with that chearfulneſs I expected, he looked very dull and melancholy at my ſaying ſo; which indeed at firſt ſurprized me, till he made me ſenſible, that his concern was about the boat's being too ſmall to go ſo far a voyage. Upon which I let him underſtand I had a much bigger; and accordingly the next day, went to the place where the firſt boat lay which I had made, when all the ſtrength I had, or art could uſe, failed me in my attempt to get it into the water; but now, it having lain in the ſun two and twenty years, and no care being taken of it all that while, it became in a manner rotten. My man told me, that ſuch a boat would do very well for the purpoſe; ſufficient to carry *enough vittle, dring, bread*, for that was his manner of talking. In ſhort, my mind being ſtrongly fixed upon my deſign of going over with him to the continent, I very plainly told him that we would both go and make a boat full as big, and more proportionable than that, wherein he might ſafely return to his own nation.

Theſe words I obſerved made *Friday* look ſo very penſive, that I thought he would have fallen at my feet. It was ſometime before he would ſpeak a word, which made me ask him what was the matter with him? He replied, in a very ſoft and moving tone, *what has poor* Friday *done? Why are you angry mad with poor ſervant? What me done, O, what me done? Friday*, ſaid I, you never yet have offended me, what makes you think I am angry with you, when I am not angry at all? *You no angry, no angry* ſaid he ſeveral times, *if you be no angry, why den ſend* Friday *over great water to my own nation?*

nation? Why ſurely, *Friday*, anſwered I, did not you wiſh to be there, when from a mountain you beheld the place where you was born; and is it not to ſatisfy your deſires that I am willing to give you leave to return thither? *Yes yes*, ſaid *Friday*, *me wiſh be there ſure 'nough, but me den wiſh maſter there too; no wiſh* Friday *there, no maſter there.* In ſhort, he could not endure the thoughts of going there without me. I go there, *Friday!* ſaid I, what ſhall I do there?---He anſwered very quickly, *O maſter, you do great deal much good, you teach all de wild mans to be good tame mans, you learn dem to be ſober, live good life, to know God, and pray God.* Alas! poor *Friday*, ſaid I, what can I do againſt their Prieſts of *Benamuckee*, or indeed what good can I make your Nation ſenſible of, when I myſelf am but a poor ignorant man? *No, no, maſter*, ſaid he, *you be no ignorant, you teachee me good, you teachee them good.* You ſhall go without me *Friday*, ſaid I, for I don't care to accompany you thither: I would rather live in this Solitude, than to venture among ſuch inhuman Savages. Go your way, ſince you deſire it, and leave me alone by myſelf, as I was before I ſaved your life.

Never was any Creature more thunder-ſtruck than *Friday* was at theſe Words, *Go me away, leave Maſter away!* ſaid he, after a long Silence. *No, no*, Friday *die*, Friday *not live maſter gone!* as tho' he had ſaid, I neither can nor will live if my maſter ſends me from him. And here I cannot but take notice of the ſtrong Ties of Friendſhip, which many times ſurpaſs thoſe of Conſanguinity: For often we find a great diſagreement among kindred; and when there is any ſeeming Regard for each other, 'tis very ſeldom true, and ſcarce ever laſting, if powerful intereſt does not bear the ſway; and that alone is often the occaſion of the greateſt hatred in the World; which is to deſire the death of parents and relations, for the ſake of enjoying their fortunes: But here was no ſuch thing between my ſervant and me; inſtead of which,

there

there was nothing but gratitude, and the ſincereſt love: He found me not only his deliverer, but his preſerver and comforter: Not a ſevere and cruel tyrant, but a kind loving, and affable friend. He wanted for no manner of ſuſtenance; and when he was ill, or out of order, I was his phyſician, not only for his body, but his ſoul; and therefore no wonder was it, that ſuch an innocent creature, long ſince diveſted of his former natural cruelty, ſhould have an uncommon concern at ſo cruel a ſeperation from me, which pierced him to the very ſoul, and made him deſire even to die rather than live without me.

After I had told *Friday*, in a very careleſs manner, that he ſhould be at his liberty as ſoon as the boat was made, the language of his eyes expreſſed all immaginable confuſion, when immediately running to one of his hatchets, which he uſed to wear as a moſt defenſive weapon, he gives it into my hand, with a heart ſo full that he could ſcarce ſpeak. *Friday*, ſaid I, what is it you mean? What muſt I do with this? *Only kill* Friday, ſaid he, Friday *no care live long*. But what muſt I kill you for replied I again. *Ah! dear Maſter, what make you* Friday *ſave from eat a me up, ſo keep long* Friday, *make* Friday *love* God, *and not love* Benamuckee; *and now* Friday *ſend away, never ſee* Friday *more!* As tho' the poor creature had ſaid, Alas! my deareſt, kindeſt Maſter, how comes it to paſs that after having ventured your precious life to ſave me from the Jaws of devouring cannibles, like myſelf; after ſuch a tender regard to provide for me ſuch comfortable nouriſhment, and continuing ſo long a kind Maſter, and moſt ſincere friend; and after making me forſake the falſe notion of an *Indian* deity, and worſhip the ture God in ſpirit and in truth: After all this, I ſay, how comes it now, that you are willing to ſend me away to my former courſe of living, by which means undoubtedly we ſhall be dead to each other; but greater muſt be my misfortune, that I ſhall never behold the beſt friend I have in this world any more! And this certainly, tho'

he could not express himself so fully, must be his sorrow; for the tears ran down his cheeks in such a plentiful manner, that I had much ado to refrain from weeping at it, when I beheld the poor creatures affected: so that I was forced to comfort him in the best manner, which I did by telling him, if he was content to abide with me, I should be ever willing to keep him.

After Friday's grief was something abated, more fully to convince me of his affection, he said, *O master, we will make boat, we will venture, have you here; me desire no more in have you die, him all*; meaning that his desire was for the conversion of that barbarous people. But as I have no apostolic mission, nor any concern about their salvation; so I had neither the least intention or care of undertaking it: and the strength of my inclination, in order to escape, proceeded chiefly from my late discourse with *Friday* about those seventeen white bearded men, that had been driven upon the barbarian coast, whom I designed to join with, as a likely means to further our escape. To which intent my man and I went to search for a proper tree to fell, whereof we might make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage: And indeed we need not be long in finding one fit for our purpose, there being wood enough in the island to have built a fleet of large vessels; but the thing we principally wanted was, to get one so near the water that we might launch it after it was finished, and not commit so horrid a mistake as I had done once many years before.

Well, after a great search for what was best and most convenient, *Friday* at last, whose judgement in such affairs was much superior to mine, pitched upon a kind of wood the most fitting for it. To this day I cannot tell the name of the tree I cut it from, nor describe it any other way, then only by saying, that it is very like what we call fustic, or betwixt that and the Nicaragua wood, being much of the same colour and smell. But tho' my man exceeded me in the knowledge of the most proper tree, yet I showed him

him a much better and cleaner way to make a canoe than ever he knew before: For he was for burning the hollow or cavity of the tree, in order to make this boat; but I then told him how we might do it with tools, learning him at the ſame time how to uſe them, which indeed he did very dexterouſly; ſo that in a Month's labour, we finiſhed it, making it very handſome by cutting the outſide into the true ſhape of a boat. After this it took us full a fortnight before we could get her into the water, which we did as it were, inch by inch, upon great rowlers: But when ſhe was in, ſhe would have carried twenty men with all the eaſe immaginable.

As I was very well pleaſed, you may be ſure, at the launching of this man of war of mine, I was no leſs amazed to behold with what dexterity my man would manage her, turn her and paddle her along. Well, *Friday*, ſaid I, what do you think of it now? Do you think this will carry us over? *Yes Maſter*, ſaid he, *me venture over well, tho' great blow wind.* But my deſign was yet farther, which he was inſenſible of, and that was to make a maſt and ſail, and to provide her with an anchor and cable. As for a maſt, that was no difficult thing at all to procure; ſo I fixed upon a ſtrait young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, there abounding great plenty of it in the iſland; and ſetting *Friday* to cut it down, I gave him particular directions how to ſhape and order it; but as to the ſail, that belonged to me only. I very well knew I had ſome old ones, or pieces of ſails, enough, which had lain ſix and twenty years by me; but not being careful to preſerve them, as thinking I ſhould have no occaſion to uſe them any more; when I came to look over them, I found them almoſt all rotten, except two; and with theſe I went to work, and after a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious ſtitching, for want of needles, I finiſhed at length a three-corner'd ugly thing, like what we call in *England* a ſhoulder of mutton ſail, to go with a boom at bot-

tom, and a little ſmall ſprit at the top, like thoſe which our long boats uſe, and which I very well knew how to manage; eſpecially ſince it was like that which I had in my patron's fiſhing-boat, when, with my boy *Xury*, I made my eſcape from the *Barbary* ſhore.

It was near two months, I think, before I completed this work, that is, the rigging and fitting my maſt and ſails; and indeed they were nicely done, having made a ſmall ſtay, and a ſail or foreſail to it, to aſſiſt, if we ſhould turn to the weſtward; and, which was ſtill more, I fixed a Rudder to the ſtern of her, to ſteer with; and tho' I was but a very indifferent ſhipwright, yet, as I was ſenſible of the great uſefulneſs and abſolute neceſſity of a thing like this, I applied myſelf to it with ſuch a conſtant application, that at laſt I accompliſhed my deſign, but what with the many dull contrivances I had about it, and the failure of many things, it coſt me as much pains in ordering, as in making the boat. Beſides, when all this was done, I had my man *Friday* to teach what belonged to its navigation: For tho' he very well underſtood how to paddle a canoe along, yet he was an utter ſtranger to a ſail and a rudder, and was amazed when he ſaw me work the boat too and again in the ſea by the ſame, and how the ſail gibbed and filled, this way, or that way, as the courſe we ſailed changed. After ſome time, and a little uſe, I made all theſe things very familiar to him, ſo that he became an expert ſailor, except in relation to the compaſs; and that I could make him underſtand but very little of. But as it happened there was ſeldom occaſion for it, there being but little cloudy weather, and ſcarce ever any fog in thoſe parts; the ſtars were always viſible in the night, and the ſhore perſpicuous by day, except in the rainy ſeaſon, which confined every one around them, to their habitations.

Thus entered in the ſeven and twentieth year of my reign, or captivity, which you pleaſe, (the laſt three of which, bleſſed with the company of my man *Friday*, ought

ought not to be reckoned) I kept the anniverſary of my landing here, with the ſame thankfulneſs to God, for his tender mercies, as I did before; and certainly, as I had a great cauſe for a thankful acknowledgement for my deliverance at firſt, I had much greater now, for ſuch ſingular and additional teſtimonies of the care of Providence over me, in all my diſtreſſes, both of body and mind, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and ſpeedily delivered; for I had a ſtrong impreſſion upon my mind, that I ſhould not be another year in this iſland: But however I ſtill continued on with my huſbandry, digging, planting and fencing as uſual: Gathering and curing my grapes, and doing all other things that were neceſſary for me.

And now the rainy ſeaſon beginning to come upon me, obliged me to keep the longer within doors; but before this I brought my new veſſel into the creek, where I had landed my rafts from the ſhip, and hauling her up to the ſhore, I ordered my man *Friday* to dig a dock ſufficient to hold her in, and deep enough to give her water, wherein ſhe might float; and then, when the tide was out, we made a ſtrong dam acroſs the end of it, to keep up the water; by which means ſhe lay dry, as to the tide from the ſea; and to keep the rain from her, we thatched her over, as it were, with boughs of trees, like a houſe; and ſo waited for the months of *November* and *December*, in which I deſigned to venture over the ocean.

No ſooner did the ſeaſonable weather begin to draw near, but ſo much was I elevated by this new deſigned adventure, that I daily prepared for the voyage. The firſt thing I thought of was, to lay by a certain quantity of proviſions, as a ſufficient ſtore for ſuch an expedition, intending in a week or fortnight's time to open the dock and launch out the boat for that purpoſe. But one morning, as I was very buſy upon ſomething neceſſary for this occaſion, I called *Friday* to me, and bid him go to the ſea-ſhore, and ſee if he

could find a turtle or tortoiſe, a thing which we commonly had once a week, as much upon account of the eggs, as for ſake of the fleſh. He had not been long gone, but he came running back, as though he was purſued for life, and, as it were, flew over my outward wall or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or ſteps he ſet his feet on; and before I had time to enquire the reaſon of his precipitation, he cries out, *O Maſter! O dear Maſter! O ſorrow, ſorrow! bad! O bad!* Why, what's the matter, *Friday?* ſaid I. *O yonder, yonder*, ſaid he, *there be one, two three canoes! two, three!* Surely (thought I) there muſt be ſix by my man's way of reckoning; but on a ſtricter enquiry, I found there was but three. Well, *Friday*, ſaid I, don't be terrified, I warrant you we will not only defend ourſelves againſt them, but kill the moſt of thoſe cruel ſavages. But tho' I comforted him in the beſt manner I could, the poor creature trembled ſo, that I ſcarce knew what to do with him: *O Maſter*, ſays he, *they come look* Friday, *cut pieces* Friday, *eat a me up.* Why, *Friday*, ſaid I, they will eat me up as well as you, and my danger is as great as yours. But ſince it is ſo, we muſt reſolve to fight for our lives: What ſay you? can you fight, *Friday? Yes*, ſaid he very faintly, *me ſhoot, me kill what I can, but there come great many number.* That's no matter, ſaid I again, our guns will terrify thoſe that we do not kill: I am very willing to ſtand by you till the laſt drop of my blood; now tell me, if you will do the like by me, and obey my orders in whatſoever I command? *Friday* then anſwered, *O Maſter, me loſe life for you, me die when you bid die.* Thus concluding all queſtions concerning his fidelity, immediately I fetched him a good dram of rum, (of which I had been a very good huſband) and gave it him to comfort his heart. After he had drank it, I ordered him to take the two fowling-pieces, which we always carried, and load them with large ſwan ſhot as big as ſmall

ſmall piſtol bullets; then I took four muſkets, and loaded them with two ſlugs, and five ſmall bullets each, charging my two piſtols each with a brace, I hung my great ſword, as cuſtomary, naked to my ſide, and gave *Friday* his hatchet, as a moſt certain weapon of defence.

Thus prepared, I thought, as well as any Knight-errant that ever handled a ſword and ſpear, I took my perſpective glaſs, and went up to the ſide of the hill, to ſee what I could diſcover; and I perceived very ſoon, by my glaſs, that there was one and twenty ſavages, three priſoners, and three canoes; and that their chief concern ſeemed to be the triumphant banquet upon the three poor human bodies, a thing which by this time I had obſerved was very common with them. From hence I alſo remarked, that they did not land at that place from whence *Friday* made his eſcape, but nearer to the creek, where the ſhore was low, and where a thick wood came very cloſe to the ſea. And then it was my ſoul was filled with indignation and abhorrence of ſuch inhuman wretches, that put a period to all my former thoughts in their vindication; neither would I give myſelf time to conſider their right of conqueſt, as I had done before. But, deſcending from the mountain, I came down to *Friday*, and told him, I was reſolved to go ſpeedily to them and kill them all; aſking him again in the ſame breath, if he would ſtand by me? When by this time being recovered from his fright, and his ſpirit much cheared with the dram I had given him, he was very pleaſant, yet ſeriouſly telling me, as he did before, 'when I bid die, he would die.'

And now it was, that having fixed my reſolution in ſo ſtrong a manner, that nothing could diveſt my breaſt from its uncommon fury, I immediately divided the arms already charged between us. To my man *Friday*, I gave a piſtol to ſtick in his girdle, with three guns upon his ſhoulder, a weight too great I confeſs to

to bear; but what muſt a poor King do, who had but one ſoldier in the world? But to ſhew I made him bear no more than what I would lay on myſelf, I ſtuck the other piſtol in my girdle, and the three guns upon my ſhoulders, nay ſomething more, but that was like Æſop's burthen, a ſmall bottle of rum, which ſoon was lightened to our exceeding refreſhment. Thus we marched out, under a ponderous load of armour, yet, like two invincible champions, with a quantity of powder and bullets to ſtand our battle, when the pieces were diſcharged. And now my orders being to be obeyed, I charged *Friday* to keep cloſe behind me, and not to ſtir, or ſhoot, or attempt any thing till I commanded him; and, in the interim, not to ſpeak ſo much as one word. It was in this order I fetched a compaſs to my right hand, of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to attain the wood; and by this I thought to come within ſhot of them before I could be diſcerned, as I found by my glaſs, was no difficult thing to accompliſh.

But how fickle and wavering is the mind of man, even in our greateſt fury, and ſtrongeſt inclination; for while I was taking this march, my reſolutions began to abate, not through fear of their numbers, who were a parcel of naked unarmed wretches; but theſe reflections occurred to my thoughts, as, what power was I commiſſioned with, or what occaſion or neceſſity had I to go and imbrue my hands in human blood, and murder people who had neither done, nor intended to do me any wrong: They were innocent in particular as to me; and their barbarous cuſtom was not only their misfortune, but a ſign that God had left them in the moſt immenſe ſtupidity; but yet had not appoint me to be a judge of their actions, much leſs an executioner of his righteous judgments: that on the contrary, whenever he thought fit, he would take vengeance on them himſelf, and punish them in a national way, according to their national crimes; but this was

nothing

nothing at all to me, who had no concerns with them. Indeed my man *Friday* might juſtify himſelf, becauſe they were his declared enemies, of that very ſame nation that went to ſacrifice him before; and indeed it was lawful for him to attack them, which I could not ſay was ſo in reſpect to me. So warmly did theſe things preſs upon my thoughts all the way I went, that I only reſolved to place myſelf ſo, as to behold their bloody entertainment, without falling upon them, except ſomething, more than ordinary, by God's ſpecial direction, ſhould oblige me thereto.

Thus fixed in my reſolution, I entered into the thick wood (my man *Friday* following me cloſe behind) when, with all poſſible warineſs and ſilence, I marched till I came to the ſkirt of it, on that ſide which was the neareſt to them; for only that one end of the wood interpoſed between me and them. Upon which I called very ſoftly to *Friday*, and ſhewed him a great tree, that was juſt at the corner of the wood, I ordered him to repair thither, and bring me word, if he could plainly perceive their actions: Accordingly, he did as I commanded him, and came back with this melancholy ſtory, that they were all about their fire, eating the fleſh of one of their priſoners; and that another lay bound upon the ſand, a little diſtant from them, which they deſigned to be their next ſacrifice; and this, he told me, was not one of their nation, but one of thoſe very bearded men, who was driven by a ſtorm into their country, and whom he had ſo often talked to me about. You may be ſure, that upon hearing this, my ſoul was ready to ſink within me; when aſcending up into a tree, I ſaw plainly by my glaſs, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the ſea, with his hands and feet tied with flags, or things reſembling ruſhes, being covered with cloaths, and ſeemed to be a *European*. From the tree where I took this proſpect, I perceived another tree, and a thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them, than

where

where I was, which, by taking a ſmall circle round, I might come at undiſcovered, and then I ſhould be within half a ſhot of theſe devourers. And this conſideration alone, to be more perfectly revenged upon them, made me with-hold my paſſion, though I was enraged to the higheſt degree imaginable; whereupon going back about twenty paces, I got behind ſome buſhes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree; and then I aſcended a little riſing ground, not above eighteen yards diſtance from us, and there I had a full view of theſe creatures, and I could perceive all their actions.

Such a ſight did then appear, as obliged me not to loſe a moment's time. There were no leſs than nineteen of theſe dreadful wretches, ſat upon the ground, cloſe huddled together, expreſſing all the delight imaginable at ſo barbarous an entertainment; and they had juſt ſent the other two to murder this poor unhappy *Chriſtian*, and bring him perhaps limb by limb to their fire; for they were juſt then going to untie the bands from his feet, in order for death as fetters are knocked off from the feet of malefactors before they go to the place of execution. Hereupon immediately turning to my man, now, *Friday*, ſaid I, mind what I ſay, fail in nothing, but do exactly as you ſee me do. All which he promiſing he would perform, I ſet down one of my muſkets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the ſame by his; and with the other muſket I took my aim at the ſavages, bidding him do the like: Are you ready? ſaid I, Yes, Maſter, ſaid he. Why then fire at them, ſaid I; and that very moment I gave fire likewiſe.

For my part, I killed one, and wounded two; but my man *Friday* taking his aim much better than I, killed two, and wounded three more. You may be ſure they were in a dreadful conſternation, at ſuch an unexpected diſaſter; and thoſe who yet had eſcaped our penetrating ſhot, immediately jumped upon their feet, but were in ſuch confuſion, that they knew not which

way

way to run or look, not knowing from whence their deſtruction came. We then threw down our pieces; and took up others, giving a ſecond dreadful volley; but as they were loaded only with ſwan-ſhot, or ſmall piſtol bullets, we perceived only two of them fall; but ſo many were wounded, that they run yelling and ſcreaming about like mad creatures. Now *Friday*, ſaid I, lay down your piece, and take up the muſket, and follow me. He did ſo, with great courage, when ſhewing ourſelves to the ſavages, we gave a great ſhout, and made directly to the poor victim, who would have been ſacrificed, had not our firſt fire obliged their butchers with three others, to jump into a canoe. By my order, *Friday* fired at them, at which ſhot I thought he killed them all, by reaſon of their falling to the bottom of the boat; however he killed two, and mortally wounded a third. In the mean time I cut the flags that tied the hands and feet of the poor creature, and lifting him up aſked him in the *Portugueze* tongue, *What he was?* He anſwered me in *Latin*, *Chriſtianus*; but ſo very weak and faint, that he could ſcarce ſtand or ſpeak. Immediately I gave him a dram, and a piece of bread to cheriſh him, and aſked him what countryman he was? He ſaid *Eſpaniola*, and then uttered all the thankfulneſs imaginable for his deliverance. *Seignior* (ſaid I, with as much *Spaniſh* as I was maſter of) let us talk afterwards, but fight now; here take this ſword and piſtol, and do what you can. And indeed he did ſo with ſuch courage and intrepidity, that he cut two of them to pieces in an inſtant, (the ſavages not having the power to fly for their lives.) I ordered *Friday* to run for thoſe pieces we had left at the tree, which he brought to me with great ſwiftneſs, and then I gave him my muſket, while I loaded the reſt. But now there happened a fierce encounter between the *Spaniard* and one of the ſavages, who had made at him with one of their wooden ſwords; and tho' the former was as brave as could be expected, having twice wounded his enemy in the head; yet, being

being faint, the *Indian* had thrown him upon the ground, and was wreſting my ſword out of his hand, which the *Spaniard* very wiſely quitting, drew out his piſtol, and ſhot him through the body, before I could come near him, who was running to his aſſiſtance. As to *Friday* he purſued the flying wretches with his hatchet, diſpatching three, but the reſt were too nimble for him. The *Spaniard* taking one of the fowling-pieces, wounded two, who running into the wood, *Friday* purſued and killed one; but the other, notwithſtanding his wounds, plunged himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to thoſe two who were left in the canoe, which with one wounded, were all that eſcaped out of one and twenty. The account is as follows:

Killed at the firſt ſhot from the tree	3	*Killed, being fallen of their wounds*	4
At the ſecond ſhot	2	*Eſcaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not ſlain*	4
By Friday *in the boat*	2		
Ditto, *of thoſe firſt wounded*	2		
Ditto, *in the wood*	1	Total	21
By the Spaniard	3		

The ſavages in the canoe worked very hard to get out of our reach, and *Friday* was as eager in purſuing them: and indeed I was no leſs anxious about their eſcape, leſt, after the news had been carried to their people, they ſhould return in multitudes, and deſtroy us. So being reſolved to purſue them, I jumped into one of their canoes, and bid *Friday* to follow me; but no ſooner was I in, when to my ſurprize, I found another poor creature bound hand and foot for the ſlaughter, juſt as the *Spaniard* had been, with very little life in him. Immediately I unbound him, and would have helped him up, but he could neither ſtand nor ſpeak, but groaned piteouſly, thinking he was only unbound in order to be ſlain. Hereupon I bid *Friday* ſpeak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; when

when pulling out my bottle, I made the poor wretch drink a dram; which, with the joyful news he had received, ſo revived his heart, that he ſat up in the boat. As ſoon as *Friday* began to hear him ſpeak, and looked more fully in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to perceive his uncommon tranſports of joy; for he kiſſed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, ſung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his face and head, then ſung and jumped about again, like a diſtracted creature; ſo that it was a great while before I could make him ſpeak to me, or tell me what was the matter with him; but, when he came to the liberty of his ſpeech, at laſt he told me, it was his father.

Here indeed I was infinitely moved to ſee the dutiful and tender affection of this poor ſavage had to his aged parent. He would ſit down by him in the boat, open his breaſt, and hold his father's head cloſe to his boſom half an hour together to nouriſh it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were ſtiff and numbed with binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; by which means, perceiving what the caſe was, I gave him ſome rum, which proved of great benefit to him.

While we were buſy in this action, the ſavages had gotten almoſt out of ſight; and happy it was we did not purſue them; for there aroſe from the north-weſt, which continued all night long, ſuch a violent ſtorm, that I could not ſuppoſe otherwiſe, but that they were all drowned. After this I called *Friday* to me, and aſked him, if he had given his father any bread? He ſhook his head, and ſaid, *None, not one bit, me eat a up all*; ſo I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried for this end. I likewiſe gave him a dram for himſelf, and two or three bunches of raiſins for his father. Both theſe he carried to him, for he would make him drink the dram to comfort him. Away he then runs out of the boat as if he was bewitched, with

ſuch an extraordinary ſwiftneſs, that he was out of ſight as it were in an inſtant; but at his return I perceived him ſlacken his pace, becauſe he had ſomething in his hand: And this I found to be, as he approached nearer, an earthen jug to bring his father ſome water in, with two more cakes of bread, which he delivered into my hands. Being very thirſty myſelf, I drank ſome of the water, of which, when his father had drank ſufficiently, it more revived his ſpirits, than all the the rum I had given him.

I then called *Friday* to me, and ordered him to carry the *Spaniard* one of the cakes and ſome water, who was repoſing himſelf upon a green place under the ſhade of a tree, but ſo weak that though he exerted himſelf, he could not ſtand upon his feet. Upon which I ordered *Friday* to rub and bathe his ankles with rum as he did his father's, But every minute he was employed in this, he would caſt a wiſhful eye towards the boat, where he left his father ſitting; when ſuddenly, not being to be ſeen, he flew like lightning to him; and finding he only laid himſelf down to eaſe his limbs, he returned back to me preſently; and then I ſpoke to the *Spaniard* to let *Friday* help him, and lead him to the boat, in order to be conveyed to my dwelling, where I would take care of him: Upon which *Friday* made nothing to take him upon his back, and ſo carried him to the canoe, ſetting him cloſe by his father; and preſently ſtepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the ſhore faſter than I could walk, though the wind blew very hard too; and having brought them ſafe to the creek, away he runs to fetch the other canoe, which he brought to the creek almoſt as ſoon as I got to it by land; when wafting me over, he took our new gueſts out of the boat. But ſo weak were they, that I was forced to make a kind of hand-barrow; and when I came to my caſtle, not being willing to make an entrance into my wall, we made them a handſome tent, covered with old ſails and boughs of trees, making

making two good beds of rice-ſtraw, with blankets to lie upon and cover them. Thus, like an abſolute King, over ſubjects who owed their lives unto me, I thought myſelf very remarkable, eſpecially conſidering I had three religions in my kingdom, my man *Friday* being a Proteſtant, his father a Pagan, and the *Spaniard* a Papiſt; but I gave liberty of conſcience to them all.

To get proviſion for my poor weak ſubjects, I ordered *Friday* to kill me a yearling goat, which when he had done, I cut off the hinder quarters, and choping it into ſmall pieces, boiled and ſtewed it, putting barley and rice into the broth. This I carried into their tent, ſet a table, dined with them myſelf, and encouraged them. *Friday* was my interpreter to his father, and indeed to the *Spaniard* too, who ſpoke the language of the ſavages pretty well. After dinner I ordered *Friday* to fetch home all our arms from the field of battle, and the next day to bury the dead bodies, which he did accordingly.

And now I made *Friday* enquire of his father, whether he thought thoſe ſavages had eſcaped the late ſtorm in their canoe; and if ſo, whether they would not return with a power too great for us to reſiſt? He anſwered, that he thought it impoſſible they ſhould outlive the ſtorm, or if they were driven ſouthwardly, they would come to a land where they would as certainly be devoured, as if they were drowned in the ſea. And ſuppoſe they had attained their own country, the ſtrangeneſs of their bloody and fatal attack, would make them tell their people, that the reſt of them were killed by thunder and lightning, not by the hand of man, but by two heavenly ſpirits (meaning *Friday* and me) who were ſent from above to deſtroy them: And this, he ſaid, he knew, becauſe he heard them ſay the ſame to one another. And indeed he was in the right on't; for I have heard ſince, that theſe four men gave out, that whoever went to that inchanted iſland, would be deſtroyed by fire from the Gods.

No canoes appearing ſome time after, as I expected,

my apprehenſions ceaſed; inſtead of which my former thoughts of a voyage took place, eſpecially when *Friday*'s father aſſured me I ſhould have good uſage in his country. As to the *Spaniard*, he told me, that ſixteen more of his countrymen and *Portugueze*, who had been ſhipwrecked, made their eſcape thither; that tough they were in union with the ſavages, yet they were very miſerable for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries. When I aſked him about the particulars of his voyage, he anſwered, that their ſhip was bound from *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havanna*, that when the ſhip was loſt, only five men periſhed in the ocean, the reſt, having ſaved themſelves in the boat; were now landed on the main continent. And what do they intend to do there? ſaid I. He replied, they had concerted meaſures to eſcape by building them a veſſel, but they had neither tools or proviſions; ſo that all their deſigns came to nothing. Suppoſing, ſaid I, I ſhould make them a propoſal, and invite them here, would they not carry me priſoner to *New Spain?* He anſwered, No, for he knew them to be ſuch honeſt men as would ſcorn to act ſuch inhuman baſeneſs to their deliverer: That, if I pleaſed, he and the old ſavage would go over to them, talk with them about it, and bring me an anſwer; that they ſhould all ſwear fidelity to me as their leader, upon the holy ſacraments; and that for his part he would not only do the ſame, but ſtand by me to the laſt drop of his blood, ſhould there be occaſion.

Theſe ſolemn aſſurances made me reſolve to grant them relief, and to ſend theſe two over for that purpoſe: But when every thing was ready, the *Spaniard* raiſed an objection which carried a great deal of weight in it. *You know, Sir*, ſaid he, *that being ſome time with you, I cannot but be ſenſible of your ſtock of rice and corn, ſufficient, perhaps, for us at preſent, but not for them, ſhould they come over preſently; much leſs to victual a veſſel for an intended voyage. Want might be as great an occaſion for them to diſagree and rebel,*

as

as the Children of Iſrael *did againſt God himſelf, when they wanted bread in the wilderneſs: And therefore my advice is to wait another harveſt, and, in the mean time, cultivate and improve ſome more land, whereby we may have plenty of proviſions, in order to execute our deſign.*

This advice of the *Spaniard* I approved of extremely, and ſo ſatisfied was I of his fidelity, that I eſteemed him ever after. And thus we all four went to work upon ſome more land, and againſt ſeed-time we had got as much cured and trimmed up, as was ſufficient to ſow twenty-two buſhels of barley on, and ſixteen jars of rice, which was in ſhort all the ſeed we had to ſpare. As we were 4 in number, and by this time all in good health, we feared not an hundred *Indians*, ſhould they venture to attack us: And while the corn was growing, I pitched upon ſome trees fit to build us a large veſſel in caſe the *Spaniards* came over; which being marked, I ordered *Friday* and his father to cut them down, appointing the *Spaniard*, who was now my Privy Counſellor, to overſee and direct the work. I likewiſe encreaſed my flocks of goats, by ſhooting the wild dams, and bringing home their kids to my enclo[illegible]. Nor did I neglect the grape-ſeaſon, but cured them as uſual, though I had ſuch a quantity now, as would have filled eighty barrels with raiſins. And thus all of us being employed, they in working, and I in providing for them, 'till harveſt came, God Almighty bleſſed the increaſe of it ſo much, that from twenty-two barrels of barley, we threſhed out two hundred and twenty, and the like quantity of rice, ſufficient to victual any ſhip, to carry me and all the *Spaniards* to any part of *America*.

Thus the principal objection being anſwered, by a ſufficient ſtock of proviſion, I ſent my two ambaſſadors over to the main, with a regal authority, to adminiſter the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and have an inſtrument ſigned under their hands, though I

never aſked whether they had pen, ink, or paper; when giving each of them a muſquet, eight charges of powder and ball, and proviſion enough for eight days, they ſailed away with a fair gale, on a day when the moon was at full.

Scarce a fortnight had paſt over my head, but impatient for their return, I laid me down to ſleep one morning, when a ſtrange accident happened, which was uſhered in, by my man's coming running to me, and calling aloud, *Maſter, Maſter, they are come, they are come.* Upon which, not dreaming of any danger, out I jumps from my bed, puts on my cloaths, and hurries thro' my little grove, when looking towards the ſea, I perceived a boat about a league and a half diſtant, ſtanding in for the ſhore, with the wind fair. I beheld they did not come from the ſide where the land lay on, but from the ſouthermoſt end of the iſland: So theſe being none of the people we wanted, I ordered *Friday* to lie ſtill, till ſuch time as I deſcended from the mountain, which, with my ladder, I now aſcended, in order to diſcover more fully what they were: And now, with the help of my perſpective glaſs, I plainly perceived an *Engliſh* ſhip, which I concluded it to be, by the faſhion of its long-boat, and which filled me with ſuch uncommon tranſports of joy, that I cannot tell how to deſcribe; and yet ſome ſecret doubts hung about me, proceeding from I know not what cauſe, as tho' I had reaſon to be upon my guard. And indeed I would have no man contemn the ſecret hints and intimations of danger, which very often are given, when he may imagine there is no poſſibility of its being real: For had I not been warned by this ſilent admonition, I had been in a worſe ſtation than before, and perhaps inevitably ruined.

Not long it was, before I perceived the boat to approach the ſhore, as tho' they looked for a place where they might conveniently land; and at laſt they ran their boat on ſhore upon the beach, about half a mile diſtance,

tance, which proved ſo much the happier for me; ſince had they come into the creek, they had landed juſt at my door, and might not only have forced me out of my caſtle, but plundered me of all I had in the world. Now I was fully convinced they were all *Engliſhmen*, three of which were unarmed and bound; when immediately the firſt four or five leaped on ſhore, and took thoſe three out of the boat as priſoners. One of whom I could perceive uſed the moſt paſſionate geſtures of entreaty, affliction, and deſpair, while the others, in a leſſer degree, ſhewed abundance of concern.

Not knowing the meaning of this, I was very much aſtoniſhed, and I beckoned to *Friday*, (who was below to aſcend the mountain, and likewiſe view this ſight. *O Maſter*, ſays he to me, *you ſee* Engliſh *mans eat priſoners, as well as ſavage mans.* And do you think they will eat them, *Friday?* ſaid I. *Yes*, ſaid *Friday*, *they eat a all up.* No, no, ſaid I *Friday*, I am much more concerned leaſt they murder them; but as for eating them up, that I am ſure they never will.

And now I not only lamented my misfortune in not having the *Spaniard* and Savage with me, but alſo that I could not come within ſhot of them unperceived, (they having no fire-arms among them) and ſave theſe three men, whom I thought they were going to kill with their ſwords. But ſome comfort it was to me, that I perceived they were ſet at liberty to go where they pleaſed, the raſcally ſeamen ſcattering about as tho' they had a mind to ſee the place: And ſo long did they negligently ramble, that the tide had ebbed ſo low, as to leave the boat aground. Nor were the two men that were in her more circumſpect, for having drank a little too much liquor, they fell faſt aſleep; but one of them waking before the other, and perceiving the boat too faſt a-ground for his ſtrength to remove it, he halloo'd out to the reſt, who made all poſſible expetion to him: But, as Providence ordered it, all their force was ineffectual to launch her, when I could hear them

them ſpeak one to another, *Why, let her alone*, Jack, *can't ye, ſhe'll float next tide*; by which words I was fully confirmed that they were my own countrymen. All this while I lay very quiet, as being fully ſenſible, it could be no leſs than ten hours before the boat would be afloat, and then it would be ſo dark, as that they could not eaſily perceive me, by which means I ſhould be at more liberty to hear their talk, and obſerve all their motions: Not but that I prepared for my defence before; yet as I had now another ſort of enemies to combat with, I acted with more caution. I took two fuzees on my ſhoulders, and gave *Friday* three muſkets; beſides my formidable goat-ſkin coat, and monſtrous cap, made me look as fierce and terrible as *Hercules* of old, eſpecially when two piſtols were ſtuck in my belt, and my naked ſword hanging by my ſide.

It was my deſign at firſt not to make any attempt till it was dark; but it being now two o'clock, in the very heat of the day, the ſailors were all ſtraggling into the woods, and undoubtedly were lain down to ſleep. The three poor diſtreſſed creatures, too anxious to get any repoſe, were however ſeated under the ſhade of a great tree, about a quarter of a mile from me: Upon which, without any more ado, I approached towards them, with my man following behind me, and before I was perceived, I called aloud to them in *Spaniſh*, *What are ye Gentlemen?*

At theſe words they ſtarted up in great confuſion, and, beholding the ſtrange figure I made, they returned no anſwer, but ſeemed as if they would fly from me. *Gentlemen*, (ſaid I, in *Engliſh*) *don't be afraid: Perhaps you have a friend nearer you than you expect.* He muſt be from Heaven, *ſaid one of them gravely, and pulling off his hat*, for we are paſt all help in this world. *All help is from Heaven, ſaid I; but, Sir, as I have perceived every action between you and thoſe brutes, ſince your*

your landing, only inform me how to aſſiſt you, and I will do it to the utmoſt of my power.

Am I talking with God or man (ſaid he, in melting tears) Are you of human-kind, or an Angel! *Sir*, ſaid I, *my poor habit may tell you I am man, and an* Engliſhman, *willing to aſſiſt you, having but this ſervant only: Here are arms and ammunition: Tell freely your condition, can we ſerve you:* The ſtory, ſaid he, is too long to relate, ſince our butchers are ſo near? But, Sir, I was maſter of that ſhip, my men have mutinyed, and it is a favour they have put my mate, this paſſenger, and me, on ſhore, without murdering us, tho' we expect nothing but to periſh here. *Are your Enemies gone?* ſaid I. No replied he, (pointing to a thicket) there they lie, while my heart trembles, leſt having ſeen and heard us, they ſhould murder us all. *Have they fire-arms?* ſaid I. They have but two pieces, ſaid he, one of which is left in the boat: He told me there were two enormous villains among them, that were the authors of this mutiny, who if they were killed or ſeized, might induce the reſt to return to their obedience. Well, well ſaid I, let us retire farther under the covering of the woods; and there it was I made theſe conditions with him:

I. That while they ſtayed in the iſland, they ſhould not pretend to any authority; but be entirely conformable to my orders, and return me the arms, which I ſhould put into their hands.

II. That if the ſhip was recovered, they ſhould afford *Friday* and I our paſſage gratis to *England.*

When he had given me all the ſatisfaction I could deſire, I gave each of them a gun, with powder and ball ſufficient, adviſing them to fire upon them as they lay. The captain modeſtly ſaid, That he was ſorry to kill them, tho' on the other hand, to let theſe villains eſcape, who were the authors of his miſery, might be the ruin of us all, ſhould they bring the ſhip's company upon us. Well, ſaid I, do as you think fit: And

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ſo accordingly fired, killing one of the Captain's chiefeſt enemies, and wounded the other, who eagerly called for aſſiſtance; but the captain, (who had reſerved his piece) coming up to him, *Sirrah*, ſaid he, *'tis too late to call for aſſiſtance, you ſhould rather cry to God to pardon your villainy*; ſo knocked him down with the ſtock of his gun: Three others were alſo ſlightly wounded, who, at my approach, cried out for mercy. This the captain granted, upon condition that they would ſwear to be true to him in recovering the ſhip, which they ſolemnly did; however I obliged the captain to keep them bound. After which I ſent *Friday* and the captain's mate to ſecure the boat, and bring away the oars and ſail; when at their return, three men coming back, and ſeeing their late diſtreſs'd captain, now their conqueror, ſubmitted to be bound alſo. And then it was, that having more liberty, I related the adventures of my whole life, which he heard with a ſerious and wonderful attention. After this, I carried him and his two men into my little fortified caſtle, ſhewed them all my conveniences, and refreſhed them with ſuch proviſions as I could afford. When this was over, we began to conſider about regaining the ſhip. He ſaid, that there were 26 hands on board, who knowing their lives were forfeited by the law, for conſpiracy and mutiny, would grow ſo very hardened, that it would be dangerous for our ſmall company to attack them. This was a reaſonable inference indeed; but ſomething we did reſolve on, and immediately put in execution: For we heaved the boat upon the beach ſo high, that ſhe could not ſhoot off at high-water mark, and broke a hole in her, not eaſily to be ſtopped; and ſo all the ſignals they gave for the boat to come on board were in vain. This obliged them to ſend another boat aſhore, with ten men armed, whoſe faces the captain plainly deſcried, the boatſwain being the chief officer; but he ſaid there were three honeſt lads among them, who were forced into the conſpiracy. Hereupon I gave him freſh courage

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(for I had perceived he was in concern) in the mean while ſecuring our priſoners, part in my caſtle, over whom *Friday* ſtood centinel; but two others we took into our ſervice, and then thought ourſelves ſtrong enough to adventure a battle. When the ſailors landed, and beheld their boat in that condition, they not only halloo'd, but fired for their companions to hear, yet they received no anſwer. This ſtruck them with horror and amazement, thinking their companions were murdered; then they made as if they would return to the ſhip; I could perceive the captain's countenance change at this, till of a ſudden three men were ordered to look after the boat, while the other ſeven leaped on ſhore, in order to ſearch for their companions: And indeed they came to the brow of the hill, near my antient caſtle, from whence they could ſee a great way into the woods, and there ſhouting and hallooing till tired and weary, at length ſeated themſelves under a ſpreading tree. My opinion was, that nothing could be done till night, when I might uſe ſome artifice to get them out of the boat: But of a ſudden they all ſtarted up, and made to the ſea-ſide: Hereupon I ordered *Friday* and the captain's mate to go over the creek, and halloo as loud as they could, and ſo, decoying them into the woods, come round to me again, And this indeed had its effect; for they followed the noiſe, till coming weſtward to the creek, they called for their boat to carry them over, taking one of the men out of her, and leaving two to look after her, having faſtened her to the ſtump of a little tree on ſhore. Hereupon immediately the captain and our party, paſſing the creek out of their ſight, we ſurprized them both, by the captain's knocking down one, and ordering the other to ſurrender on pain of death, and who, being the honeſteſt of them all, ſincerely joined with us. By this time it was pretty late, when returning to their boat, which they found a-ground in the creek, the tide out, and the men gone; they ran about, wringing their hands, crying

it was an inchanted iſland, and that they ſhould be all murdered by ſpirits or devils. My men would willingly have fallen upon them, but I would not agree to hazard any of our party, But to be more certain, *Friday* and the captain crawled upon their hands and feet, as near as poſſible; and when the boatſwain approached in ſight, ſo eager was the captain, that he fired and killed him on the ſpot; *Friday* wounded the next man, and the third ran away. Hereupon, I advanced with my whole army, and, it being dark, I ordered the man we had ſurprized with the boat, to call them by their names, and to parley with them. Accordingly he called out aloud, *Tom Smith! Tom Smith!* He anſwered, *Who's that?* Robinſon! The other anſwered, *For God's ſake*, Tom, *ſurrender immediately, or you are all dead men.* Who muſt we ſurrender to? ſays *Smith. To our captain and fifty men here, who have taken me priſoner, wounded* Will. Frye, *and killed the boatſwain.* Shall we have quarters then? ſaid he. Hereupon the captain calls out, *You*, Smith, *you know my voice; ſurrender immediately, and you ſhall all have your lives granted, except* Will. Atkins. Hereupon *Atkins* cried out, *What have I done, captain, more than the reſt, who have been as bad as me?* But that was a lie, for he was the perſon that laid hold of him, and bound him. However, he was ordered to ſubmit to the Governor's mercy, for ſuch was I called. And ſo, laying down their arms, we bound them all, and ſeized on their boat.

After this, the captain expoſtulated with them, telling them, that the Governor was an *Engliſhman*, who might execute them there; but he thought they would be ſent to *England*, except *Will. Atkins*, who was ordered to prepare for death next morning. Hereupon *Atkins* implored the captain to intercede for his life, and the reſt that they might not be ſent to *England.* Thus anſwered our project for ſeizing the ſhip. For ſending *Atkins*, and two of the worſt, faſt bound, to the cave, and the reſt being committed to my bower, I ſent the

the captain, to tamper with them, in the Governor's name, offering them pardon, if they would aſſiſt him in recovering the ſhip. Upon which they all promiſed to ſtand by him till their laſt drop of blood; and whoever acted treacherouſly ſhould be hanged in chains upon the beach. They were all releaſed on theſe aſſurances; and then the captain repaired the other boat, making his paſſenger captain, with four men well armed; while his mate, himſelf, and five men more, went in the other. By midnight they came within call of the ſhip, when the captain ordered *Robinſon* to hale her, and tell them that, with great difficulty, they had found the men at laſt. But while they were diſcourſing, the captain, his mate, and the reſt entered, and knocked down the ſecond mate and carpenter, ſecured thoſe that were upon deck, by putting them under hatches, while the other boat's crew entered, and ſecured the forecaſtle; then broke into the round-houſe, where the mate, after ſome reſiſtance, ſhot the pirate captain through the head; upon which all the reſt yielded themſelves priſoners. And thus the ſhip being recovered, the joyful ſignal was fired, which I heard with the greateſt joy imaginable: Nor was it long before he brought the ſhip to an anchor at the creek's mouth, when coming to me unawares, *There*, ſays he, *my deareſt friend and deliverer, there is your ſhip, and we are your ſervants*; a comfort ſo unſpeakable, as made me ſwoon in his arms, while, with gratitude to heaven, we were tenderly embracing each other.

Nothing now remained, but to conſult what we ſhould do with the priſoners, two of which he thought not ſafe to take on board. Hereupon, concerting with the captain, I dreſſed myſelf in one of his ſuits, and ſending for them, told them, that as I was going to leave the iſland with all my people, if they would tarry there, their lives ſhould be ſpared; if not, they ſhould be hanged at the firſt port we came to. They agreed to ſtay. Hereupon I told them my whole ſtory, charg-

ing them to be kind to the *Spaniards* that were expected, gave them all my arms, and informing them of every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance, I and my man *Friday* went on board. But the next morning two of the men came ſwimming to the ſhip's ſide, deſiring the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them afterwards, complaining mightily how barbarouſly the others uſed them. Upon which I prevailed with the captain to take them in, and being ſeverely whipped and pickled, they proved more honeſt for the future. And ſo I bid farewel to this iſland, carrying along with me my money, parrot, umbrella, and goat-ſkin cap, ſetting ſail *Dec.* 12, 1686, after twenty-eight years, two months, and nineteen days reſidence, that ſame day and month that I eſcaped from *Sallee*, landing in *England*, *June* 11, 1687, after thirty-five years abſence from my own country, which rendered me altogether an utter ſtranger.

Here I found my firſt captain's widow alive, who had buried a ſecond huſband, but in very mean circumſtances, and whom I made mighty eaſy upon my account. Soon after I went down to *Yorkſhire*, where all my family were expired, except two ſiſters, and as many of one of my brother's children. I found no proviſion had been made for me, they concluding I had been long ſince dead; ſo that I was but in a very ſlender ſituation. Indeed the captain did me a great kindneſs, by his report to the owners, how I had delivered their ſhip on the deſolate iſland, upon which they made me a preſent of 200l. ſterling. I next went to *Liſbon*, taking my man *Friday* with me, and arriving there in *April*, I met the *Portugueze* captain, who took me on board on the *African* coaſt; but being antient, he had left off the ſea, and reſigned all his buſineſs to his ſon, who followed the *Braſil* trade. So altered both of us were, that we did not know each other at firſt, till I diſcovered myſelf more fully to him. After a few embraces, I begun to enquire after my concerns, and then the old gentleman told me, that

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it was nine years ſince he had been at *Braſil*, where my partner was then living, but my truſtees were both dead; that it was his belief, I ſhould have a good account of the product of my plantation; that the imagination of my being loſt, had obliged my truſtees to give an eſtimate of my ſhare to the Procurator Fiſcal, who, in caſe of my not returning, had given one third to the King, and the reſt to the Monaſtry of St. *Auguſtine*; but if I put in my claim, or any one for me, it would be returned, except the yearly product, which was given to the poor. I then deſired him to tell me, what improvement he thought had been made of my plantation, and whether he imagined it was worth my while to look after it? He anſwered, he did not know how much it was improved, but this he was certain of, that my partner was grown vaſtly rich upon his half of it; and that he had been informed, that the King had 200 moidores per annum, for his third part. He added, that the ſurvivors of my truſtees were perſons of an ingenuous character; that my partner could witneſs my title, my name being regiſtered in the country, by which means indiſputably I ſhould recover conſiderable ſums of money. But, anſwered I, how could my truſtees diſpoſe of my effects, when I made you only my heir? This, he ſaid, was true, but there being no affidavit made of my death, he could not act as an executor. However he had ordered his ſon, (then at *Braſil*) to act by procuration upon my account, and had taken poſſeſſion of my ſugar-houſe, having accounted himſelf for eight years with my partners and truſtees for the profits, of which he would give me a good account.

And indeed this he performed very faithfully in a few days, making himſelf indebted to me 470 moidores of gold, over and above what had been loſt at ſea, after I had left the place. And then he recounted to me what misfortunes he had gone thro', which forced my money out of his hands, to buy part in a new ſhip: *But* (ſays he) *you ſhall not want, take this, and when my*

ſon returns, every farthing ſhall be paid you. Upon which he put into my hand a purſe of 150 moidores in gold, as likewiſe the inſtrument containing the title to the ſhip in which his ſon was, and which he offered as ſecurity for the remainder. But really when I ſaw ſo much goodneſs, generoſity, tenderneſs and real honeſty, I had not the heart to accept it, for fear he ſhould ſtraighten himſelf on my account. *'Tis true*, ſaid he, *it may do ſo; but the money is yours, not mine, and you may have the greateſt occaſion for it.* However I returned fifty of them, promiſing to give him the other hundred, when I got my effects in my hands, ſaying I deſigned to go myſelf for that purpoſe. But he told me, he could ſave me that trouble; and ſo cauſed me to enter my name with a public notary, as likewiſe my affidavit, with a procuration fixed to it; and he adviſed me to ſend in a letter to one of his acquaintance, a merchant at *Braſil*; and indeed nothing could be more faithful and honourably obſerved; for in ſeven months time I had a very faithful account of all my effects, what ſums of money were raiſed, what expended, and what remained for my uſe: In a word, I found myſelf worth 4000l. ſterling, and 100l. per annum. Nor was this all, for my partner congratulated me upon my being alive, telling me how much my plantation was improved, what negroes were at work, and how many *Ave Marias* he had ſaid to the Virgin *Mary* for my preſervation, deſiring me to accept kindly ſome preſents he had ſent me, which I found ſhewed the greateſt generoſity.

No ſooner did the ſhip arrive, but I rewarded my faithful captain, by returning him the hundred moidores; and not only forgiving him all he owed me, I allowed him yearly a hundred more, and fifty to his ſon, during their lives. And now being reſolved to go to *England*, I returned letters of thanks to the Prior of St. *Auguſtine*, and in particular to my old partner, with very ſuitable preſents. By the captain's advice, I was perſuaded to go by land to *Calais*, and there

there take paſſage for *England*: When, as it happened, I got a young *Engliſh* gentleman, a merchant's ſon at *Liſbon*, to accompany me, together with two *Engliſh* and two *Portugueze* gentlemen; ſo that with a *Portugeze* ſervant, an *Engliſh* ſailor, and my man *Friday*, there were nine in number.

Thus, armed and equipt, we ſet out, and came to *Madrid*, when the ſummer decaying, we haſted to *Navarre*, where we were informed that there was ſcarcely any paſſing, by reaſon of the prodigious quantity of Snow; ſo that we were obliged to abide near twenty days at *Pampeluna*, and at laſt to take a guide to conduct us ſafe towards *Thouloufe*. And now twelve other gentlemen joining with us, together with their ſervants, we had a very jolly company. Away our guide led us by the frightful mountains, and through ſo many intricate mazes and windings, that we inſenſibly paſt them, which, as we travelled along, uſhered us to the proſpect of the fruitful and charming provinces of *Languedoc* and *Gaſcogny*.

But now came on two adventures, both tragical and comical. 1ſt, Our guide was encountered by three wolves and a bear, who ſet upon him and his horſe, and wounded him in three places: Upon which my man riding up to his aſſiſtance, ſhot one of them dead, on which the others ran into the woods. But the pleaſanteſt adventure was, to ſee my man attack the bear. This creature, if let alone, will never meddle with you: And this my man *Friday* very well knew, and ſo begging leave of me in broken *Engliſh*, he told us, *He would make good laugh*. Why, you ſilly fool, ſaid I, he'll eat you up at a mouthful. *Eatee me up!* replied he, *me eatee him, and make much good laugh*. Upon which, pulling off his boots, he claps on his pumps, and running after the monſtrous beaſt, and calls out, that he wanted to ſpeak with him; and then throwing ſtones on purpoſe to incenſe him, the beaſt turns about in a fury, and, with prodigious ſtrides, ſhuffles after

him. But though he could not keep pace with *Friday*, who made up to us as it were for help, yet, being angry, *You dog*, ſaid I, *immediately take horſe, and let us ſhoot the creature.* But he cried, *Dear Maſter, no ſhoot, me make you much laugh.* And ſo he turned about, making ſigns to follow, while the bear ran after him, till coming to a great oak, he aſcended in a minute, leaving his gun at the bottom of it. Nor did the bear make any difficulty of it, but, notwithſtanding his bulk, aſcended like a cat. You muſt think I was not a little amazed at the folly of my man, not perceiving any thing to occaſion our laughter, till we rode up nearer, and beheld the beaſt mounted on the oak, on the beginning of the ſame branch to which *Friday* clung at the farther end, where the bear dare not come. Hereupon *Friday* cried out, *Now, Maſter, me make much laugh, me make de bear dance.* Upon which he fell a ſhaking the bough, which made the creature lock behind him to ſee how he could retreat. Then, as if the bear had underſtood his ſtammering *Engliſh*, *Why you no come farther, Mr. Bear?* ſaid he. *Pray Mr. Bear, come farther:* And then indeed we all burſt into laughter, eſpecially when we perceived *Friday* drop like a ſquirrel upon the ground, leaving the beaſt to make the beſt of his way down the tree. And now thinking it the moſt convenient time to kill him, *Friday* cried out, *O dear Maſter, no ſhoot; me ſhoot by and by*; when taking up the gun, *Me no ſhoot yet*, ſaid he, *me make once more much laugh.* And accordingly he was as good as his word, for the creature deſcending backwards from the tree very leiſurely, before he could lay one foot on the ground, *Friday* ſhot him through the ear ſtone-dead, and looking to ſee if we were pleaſed, burſt out into a hearty laugh, ſaying, *So we kill bear in my country; not with gun, but much long arrow.* Thus ended our diverſion, to our great ſatisfaction, eſpecially in a place where the terrible howlings ſtruck us with continual terror. But

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the ſnows now growing very deep, particularly on the mountains, the ravenous creatures were obliged to ſeek for ſuſtenance in the villages, where coming by ſurprize on the country people, killed ſeveral of them, beſides a great number of their ſheep and horſes.

Our guide told us, we had yet one more dangerous place to paſs by; and if there were any more wolves in the country, there we ſhould find them. This was a ſmall plain, encompaſſed with woods, to get through a long lane, to the village where we were to lodge. When we entered the wood the ſun was within half an hour of ſetting; and a little after it was ſet, we came into the plain, which was not above two furlongs over, and then we ſaw five great wolves croſs the road, without taking notice of us, and ſo ſwift as tho' they were purſuing after their prey. Hereupou our guide, believing there were more coming, deſired us to be upon our guard. Accordingly our eyes were very circumſpect, till about a league farther we ſaw a dead horſe, and near a dozen of wolves devouring its carcaſs. My man *Friday* fain would have fired at them, but I would not permit him: Nor had we gone half over the plain, but we heard dreadful howlings in a wood on our left, whan preſently we ſaw an hundred come up againſt us, as though they had been an experienced army. This obliged us to form ourſelves in the beſt manner; and then I ordered that every other man ſhould fire, that thoſe who did not might be ready to give a ſecond volley, ſhould they advance upon us; and then every man to make uſe of his piſtols. But there was no neceſſity for this; for the enemy being terrified, ſtopped at the noiſe of the fire; four of them were ſhot dead, and ſeveral others being wounded, went bleeding away, as we could very plainly diſcover by the ſnow. And now remembering what had been often told me, that ſuch was the majeſty of a man's voice, as to ſtrike terror even into the fierceſt creatures, I ordered all our companions to holloo as loud

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as poſſible: And in this notion I was not altogether miſtaken; for they immediately turned about upon the firſt halloo, and began to retire: Upon which, ordering a ſecond volley in their rear, they galloped into the woods with great precipitation.

Thus we had ſome ſmall time to load our pieces again, and then made all the haſte we could on our way: But we had not rode far before we were obliged to put ourſelves in a poſture of defence as before, being alarmed with a very dreadful noiſe in the ſame wood on our left hand, the ſame way as we were to paſs, only that it was at ſome diſtance from us. By this time the darkſome clouds began to ſpread over the elements, and the light growing very duſky, made it ſo much the more to our diſadvantage: But the noiſe ſtill encreaſing more, we were fully aſſured, that it was the howling and yelling of thoſe ravenous creatures; when preſently three troops of wolves, on our front, appeared to our ſight, as tho' all theſe companions had a deſign to ſurround us, and devour us in ſpite of fate. But as they did not fall upon us immediately, we proceeded on our journey in the ſwifteſt manner that the roads would permit our horſes, which was only a large trot. It was in this manner we travelled, till ſuch time as we diſcovered another wood, and had the proſpect of its entrance, through which were to paſs at the fartheſt ſide of the plain. But ſurely none can expreſs the terror we were in, when approaching the lane, we perceived a confuſed number of the fierceſt wolves ſtanding, and as it were, guarding its entrance. Nor were we long in this amazement, before another occaſion of horror preſented itſelf: For ſuddenly we heard the report of a gun at another opening into the wood; and looking that way, out ran a horſe, bridled and ſaddled, flying with the greateſt ſwiftneſs, and no leſs than ſixteen or ſeventeen wolves purſuing him, in order to devour the poor creature: And unqueſtionably they did ſo,

after

after they had run him down, not being capable to hold out that ſwiftneſs with which he at firſt eſcaped them.

When we rode up to that entrance from whence the horſe came forth, there lay the carcaſſes of two men and another horſe, mangled and torn by theſe devouring wolves: And undoubtedly one of theſe men was the perſon who fired the gun, which we had heard, for the piece lay by him; but alas! moſt of the upper part of his body and his head was entombed in the bowels of theſe ravenous creatures.

What courſe to take, whether to proceed or retreat, we could not tell; but it was not long before the wolves themſelves made us come to a reſolution: For ſuch numbers ſurrounded us, every one of whom expected their prey, that were our bodies to be divided among them, there would not be half a mouthful a-piece. But happy, very happy, it was for us, that but a little way from the entrance, there lay ſome very large timber trees, which I ſuppoſed had been cut down and lay there for carriage, among which I drew my little troop, placing ourſelves in a line behind one long tree, which ſerved us for a breaſt-work; when, deſiring them to alight, we ſtood in a triangle, or three fronts, encloſing our horſes in the centre, the only place where we could preſerve them.

Never certainly was a more furious charge than what the wolves made upon us in this place; and the ſight of the horſes, which was the principal prey they aimed at, provoked their hunger, and added to their natural fierceneſs. They came on us with a moſt dreadful noiſe, that made the woods ring again, and beginning to mount our pieces of timber, I ordered every other man to fire as before directed; and indeed ſo well did they take their aim, that they killed ſeveral of the wolves at the firſt volley; but ſtill we were obliged to keep a continual firing, by reaſon they came on like devils, puſhing one another with the greateſt fury. But our ſecond volley ſomething abated their courage; when ſtopping a little, we hoped

they

they would have made the beſt of their way, however it did not prove ſo, for others made a new attempt upon us: And tho' in four firings we killed ſeventeen or eighteen of them, laming twice as many; yet they came on ſeveral times ſucceſſively, as though they valued not their lives for the ſake of their prey.

Unwilling was I to ſpend our laſt ſhot too ſuddenly: and therefore called my other ſervant, and giving him a horn of powder, bid him lay a large train quite along the timber, which he did, while *Friday* was charging my fuzee and his own, with the greateſt dexterity. By this time the wolves coming up the timber, I ſet fire to the train, by ſnapping a diſcharged piſtol cloſe on the powder. This ſo ſcorched and terrified them, that ſome fell down, and others jumped in among us with the ſtrength and terror of the flame, but theſe we immediately diſpatched, when all the reſt, frightened with the light, which the darkſome night cauſed to appear more dreadful, began at length to retire: Upon which, ordering our laſt piſtols to be fired at once, giving at the ſame time a great ſhout, the wolves were obliged to have recourſe to their ſwiftneſs by turning tail; and then we ſallied out upon twenty lame ones, cutting them in pieces with our ſwords, which obliged them to howl lamentably, to the terror of their fellow devourers, who reſigned to us the field, as victorious conquerors. And, indeed, I queſtion whether *Alexander*, King of *Macedon*, in any of his conqueſts, had more occaſion for triumph than we had; for he was backed by numerous captains and ſoldiers of the greateſt courage, conſtancy, and reſolution; whereas our little army was obliged to combat a legion of devils, as it were, worſe than canibals, who, had they ſlain us, would have ſacrificed us the ſame moment, to ſatisfy their voracious appetites.

Thus ended our bloody battle with the beaſts, having killed threeſcore of them, and ſaved our lives from their fury. We ſtill had a league to go farther, when,

when, as we went, our ears were ſaluted with their moſt unwelcome howlings, expecting every moment another attack. But, in an hour's time, we arrived ſafe at the town where we were to lodge; and here we found the place ſtrictly guarded, and all in terrible confuſion, as well they might, by reaſon of the bears and wolves breaking into the village, in order to prey upon their cattle and people. The next morning we were obliged to take a new guide, by reaſon the other fell very bad of his wounds, which he had received, as before-mentioned. After we had reached *Thouloufe*, we came into a warm, pleaſant, and fruitful country, not infeſted with wolves, nor any ſort of ravenous creatures: And when we told our ſtory there, they much blamed our guide, for conducting us through the foreſt at the foot of the mountains, and in ſuch a ſevare ſeaſon, when the ſnow obliged them to ſeek for ſhelter in the woods. When we informed them in what manner we placed ourſelves, and the horſes in the centre, then they exceedingly reprehended us, and told us, it was an hundred to one but we had all been deſtroyed; for that it was the ſight of the horſes, their ſo much deſired prey, made the wolves more ragingly furious than they would have been; which was evident, by their being at other times really afraid of a gun; but then, being exceedingly hungry and furious upon that account, their eagerneſs to come at the horſes made them inſenſible of their danger; and that if we had not by a continual fire, and at laſt, by the cunning ſtratagem of the train of powder, got the power over them, it had been great odds if their number had not overpowered us: Beſides, it was a great mercy we alighted from our horſes, and fought them with that courage and conduct, which, had we failed to do, every man of us, with our beaſts, had been devoured. And indeed this was nothing but truth; for, never in my life was I ſo ſenſible of danger, as when 300 devils came roaring upon us; to ſhun whoſe unwelcome

company,

company, if I was ſure to meet a ſtorm every week, I woold rather go a thouſand leagues by ſea.

I think I have nothing uncommon in my paſſage through *France* to take notice of, ſince other travellers of greater learning and ingenuity, have given a more ample account, than my pen is able to ſet forth. From *Thoulouſe* I travelled to *Paris*, from thence to *Calais*, where I rook ſhipping, and landed at *Dover* the 14th of *January*, in a very cold ſeaſon.

Thus came to the centre of my travels, I ſoon diſcovered my new-found eſtate, and all the bills of exchange I had brought were currently paid. The good ancient widow, my only Privy-Counſellor, thought no pains or care too great to procure my advantage; nor had I ever occaſion to blame her fidelity, which drew from me an ample reward. I was for leaving my effects in her hands, intending to ſet out for *Liſbon*, and ſo to the *Braſils*; but as in the deſolate Iſland I had ſome doubts about the Romiſh religion, ſo I knew there was little encouragement to ſettle there, without I would apoſtatize from the orthodox faith, or live in continual fear of the inquiſition. Upon this account I reſolved to ſell my plantation, and to this intent I wrote to my old friend at *Liſbon*, who returned me an anſwer, to my great ſatisfaction, which was, that he could readily ſell it there: However, if I thought it convenient to give him liberty to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the ſurvivors of my truſtees, reſiding at the *Braſils*, who conſequently underſtood its intrinſic value, having liv'd juſt upon the ſpot, and who I was ſenſible were very rich, and therefore might be the more willing to purchaſe it; he did not in the leaſt doubt, but I ſhould make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight more of it, than I ſhould do if I diſpoſed of it any other manner whatſoever.

You may be ſure I could not but agree with this kind and ingenuous propoſal; and immediately I ſent him an order to offer it unto them, which he accordingly did: So that about eight months after, the ſhip being

in that time returned, he gave me a ſatisfactory account that they not only willingly accepted the offer, but that they had alſo remitted thirty-three thouſand pieces of eight, to a correſpondent of their own at *Liſbon*, in order to pay for its purchaſe.

Hereupon, in return, I ſigned the inſtrument of ſale, according to form, which they had ſent from *Liſbon*, and returned it again to my old friend, he having ſent me, for my eſtate, bills of three hundred twenty-eight thouſand pieces of eight, reſerving the payment of one hundred moidores *per annum*, which I had allowed him during life, as alſo fifty to his ſon during life, according to my faithful promiſe, which the plantation was to make good as rent-charge.

And thus having led my reader to the knowledge of the firſt part of my life, ſo remarkable for the many peculiar providences that attended it, floating in an ocean of uncertainty and diſappointment, of adverſity and proſperity, beginning fooliſhly, and yet ending happily; methinks, now I am come to a ſafe and pleaſant haven, 'tis time to caſt out my anchor, and, laying up my veſſel, bid (for a while) adieu to foreign adventures. I had now other concerns to look after, the care of my brother's two ſons, which, with the good widow's perſuaſions, obliged me to continue at home ſeven years. One of theſe children I bred up a gentleman, and the other an experienced ſailor, remarkable for his courage and bravery. Beſides this I married a virtuous young gentlewoman, of a very good family, by whom I had two ſons and one daughter. But my dear and tender wife leaving this earthly ſtage (as you will hear in the ſecond part of my life, which rending my ſoul as it it were aſunder, my native country became as it were tireſome to me: And my nephew happening to come from ſea, tempted me to venture another voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which I did in the year 1694, at which time I viſited my iſland, and informed myſelf of every thing that happened ſince my departure.

One might reaſonably imagine, that what I had ſuffered, together with an advanced age, and the fear of loſing not only what I had gotten, but my life alſo, might have choaked up all the ſeeds of youthful ambition and curioſity, and put a laſting period to my wandering inclinations. But, as nothing but death can fully allay the active part of my life, no leſs remarkable for the many various contingencies of it: You will there perceive how I viſited my little kingdom, ſaw my ſucceſſors the *Spaniards*, had an account of the uſage they met with from the *Engliſhmen*, agreeing and diſagreeing, uniting and ſeparating, till at laſt they were ſubjected to the *Spaniards*, who yet uſed them very honourably; together with the wonderful and ſucceſsful battles over the *Indians*, who invaded, and thought to have conquered the iſland, but were repelled by their invincible courage and bravery, having taken eleven men and five women priſoners; by which, at my return, I found about twenty young children on my little kingdom. Here I ſtayed twenty days, left them ſupplies of all neceſſary things, as alſo a carpenter and ſmith, and ſhared the iſland into parts, reſerving the whole property to myſelf. Nor will you be inſenſible, by the account of theſe things, of ſeveral new adventures I have been engaged in, the battles I have fought, the deliverances I have made thereon: And while, in the ſurpriſing relation of ſuch remarkable occurrences, I ſhall deſcribe many of God's kindeſt providences to me in particular; no leſs conſpicuous in the ſame goodneſs, power and majeſty of our great Creator, ſhewn, one way or other, over the face of the earth.

THE

THE

FARTHER ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Wherein are contained ſeveral ſtrange and ſurpriſing accounts of his travels, and moſt remarkable tranſactions, both by ſea and land.

WHEN we conſider the puiſſant force of nature, and what mighty influence it has many times over the temper of the mind; it will be no ſuch great wonder to think that my powerful reaſon ſhould be overcome by a much ſtronger inclination. My late acquired kingdom ran continually in my thoughts all the day, and I dreamt of it in the night; nay, I made it the continual ſubject of my talk, even to impertinence, when I was awake. I had ſuch vapours in my head, that I actually ſuppoſed myſelf at my caſtle: That I not only perceived *Friday*'s father, the old *Spaniard*, and the wicked ſailors; but that I talked and diſcourſed with them about their manner of living: That I heard thoſe things related to me, which I found afterwards

terwards to be but too true; and that I executed my judgments with the greateſt ſeverity upon the offenders. And indeed this anticipating all the pleaſing joys of my life, ſcarcely afforded me one pleaſant hour; my dear and tender wife could not but take notice of it, which drew theſe affectionate ſpeeches from her: *My dear*, ſaid ſhe, *I am really perſuaded that ſome ſecret impulſe from heaven occaſions in you a determination to ſee the iſland again: Nor am I leſs ſenſible, but your being engaged to me and theſe dear children, is the only hindrance of your departure. I know, my dear, if I was in the grave, you would not long continue at home: Prevent not your happineſs upon my account, whoſe only comfort centers in you. All that I can object is, that ſuch an hazardous undertaking is no way conſiſtent with a perſon of your years; but if you are reſolved to go,* (added ſhe weeping) *only permit me to bear you company, and that is all that I deſire.*

Such endearing tenderneſs, graced with the moſt innocent, and yet moſt powerful charms, brought me inſenſibly into my right underſtanding: And when I conſidered all the tranſactions of my life, and particularly my new engagement; that I had now one child already born, and my wife big of another; and that I had no occaſion to ſeek for more riches, who already was bleſſed with ſufficiency; with much ſtruggling, I altered my reſolutions at laſt, reſolving to apply myſelf to ſome buſineſs or other, which might put a period to ſuch wandering inclinations. Hereupon I bought a little farm in the county of *Bedford*, with a reſolution to move thither: Upon this there was a pretty convenient houſe, ſurrounded with land, very capable of improvement, which ſuited my temper, as to planting, managing, and cultivating. Nor was I long before I entered upon my new ſettlement, having bought ploughs, harrows, cart, waggon, horſes, cows and ſheep; ſo that I now led the life of a country gentleman, and was as happy in my retirement as the

greateſt

greateſt monarch in the world. And what made me think my happineſs the greater was, that I was in that middle ſtate of life which my father had ſo often recommended, much reſembling the felicity of a rural retirement, which is elegantly deſcribed by the poet in theſe lines,

Free from all vices, free from care,
Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare.

But in the midſt of this my chiefeſt happineſs, I was ſuddenly plunged into the greateſt ſorrow that I could poſſibly endure: For, when I leaſt expected it, my dear and tender wife was forced to ſubmit to the irreſiſtible power of death, leaving this tranſitory life for a better. It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the beauties of her mind, or the lovelineſs of her perſon; neither can I too much lament her loſs, which my lateſt breath ſhall record. Her influence was greater over me than the powers of my own reaſon, the importunities of friends, the inſtructions of a father, or the melting tears of a tender and diſconſolate mother: In a word, ſhe was the ſtandard of all my affairs, the center of my enterprizes, and the principal engine to direct me in the courſe to happineſs. But now, ſince the cruel hand of death had cloſed my deareſt's eyes, in my thoughts I ſeemed a ſtranger to the world; my Privy-Counſellor being gone, I was like a ſhip without a pilot, and that could only run before the wind. And when I looked around me in this buſy world, one part labouring for bread, and the other ſquandering away their eſtates; this put me in mind how I had lived in my little kingdom, where both reaſon and religion dictated to me, that there was ſomething that certainly was the reaſon and end of life, which was far ſuperior to what could be hoped for on this ſide the grave. My country delights were now as inſipid and dull as muſic or ſenſe to thoſe who have neither taſte or ingenuity. In ſhort, reſolving to leave off houſe-keeping, I left my farm, and in a few months returned to *London*. But

But neither could that great city, ſo famous for its variety of entertainments, afford me any agreeable delight. A ſtate of idleneſs I found to be the very dregs of liſe, and moſt hurtful to body and ſoul. It was now the beginning of the year 1693, at which time my nephew (who I before obſerved had been brought up to the ſea, and advanced to be captain of a ſhip) was returned from a ſhort voyage to *Bilboa*, the firſt he had made in that ſtation. He comes to me one morning, telling me, that ſome merchants of his acquaintance had propoſed to him to go a voyage for them to the *Eaſt Indies* and *China*, in the manner of private traders: And now, *Uncle*, ſaid he, *if you'll accompany me thither, I'll engage to land you upon your old iſland, there to behold the ſtate of your little kingdom.*

It was juſt before he came in, my thoughts were fixed to get a patent for its poſſeſſion, and then to fill it with inhabitants. After I had pauſed a little while, and looked ſteadfaſtly on him, *What devil, or ſpirit*, ſaid I, *ſent you with this unlucky errand?* He ſtartled at firſt, but recovering himſelf, when he perceived I was not offended: Sir, replied he, what I have propoſed cannot, I hope, be ſtiled unlucky, ſince certainly you muſt be deſirous to ſee your little territory, where you reigned with more content than any of your brother Kings in the univerſe. Nephew, ſaid I, if you will leave me there, and call for me as you come back, I care not if I give my conſent: But he anſwered, that the merchants would not allow their veſſel, laden with an infinite value, to return there again, which was a month's ſail out of the way: Beſides, Sir, ſaid he, ſuppoſing I ſhould miſcarry, was your requeſt granted, why then you would be in the ſame ſtate as before. This indeed carried a great deal of reaſon in it, but we found out a remedy, and that was, to carry a framed ſloop on board, ready to be ſet up in the iſland, by the aſſiſtance of ſome carpenters which we ſhould carry with us, that would be

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fitted in a few days to go to ſea. I was not long forming my reſolution, which overſwayed my good friend the widow's perſuaſions, and the natural affection I ſhould bear to my young children. I made my will, and ſettled my eſtate in ſuch a manner, that I was perfectly eaſy that the poor infants would have juſtice done them. The good widow not only undertook to make proviſion for my voyage, but alſo took the charge of my domeſtic affairs, and to provide for my children's education; and indeed no mother could take more care, or underſtood that office better, which I lived to reward, and to return her my hearty thanks for.

The beginning of *January* 1694-5, my nephew being ready to ſail, I and *Friday* went on board in the *Downs* on the 8th; having, beſides that ſloop already mentioned, a very conſiderable cargo for my new colony. *Firſt*, I had ſome ſervants, whom I propoſed to leave there as inhabitants, or to work while I ſtayed there, as they ſhould appear willing: There were two carpenters, a ſmith, and a very ingenious fellow who was Jack of all trades; for he was not only a cooper by trade, but was alſo dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, likewiſe a good turner and a good pot-maker. I alſo carried a taylor, who conſented to ſtay in my plantation, and proved a moſt neceſſary fellow in the iſland. As to my cargo, it conſiſted of a ſufficient quantity of linen, and *Engliſh* ſtuffs, for cloathing the *Spaniards* that I expected to find there; as likewiſe gloves, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings; together with beds, bedding, and houſhold-ſtuff, eſpecially kitchen utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, &c. alſo nails, tools of all ſorts, ſtaples, hooks, hinges, and all other things neceſſary; all which, I think, coſt me about 300*l.* Nor was this all, for I carried an hundred ſpare arms, muſkets, and fuzees, beſides ſome piſtols, a conſiderable quantity of ſeveral ſorts of ſhot, two braſs cannon, beſides ſwords, cutlaſſes, and the iron part for ſome pikes and halberts; and

and I made my nephew take with us two ſmall quarter-deck guns more than he had occaſion for in his ſhip, to leave behind, if there was a neceſſity: ſo that we might build a fort there, and man it againſt all oppoſers whatſoever.

Well, we put out to ſea; and though I can't ſay this voyage was ſo unproſperous as my others had been, yet contrary winds drove us ſo far northward, that we were obliged to put in at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where we lay wind-bound two and twenty days. Here indeed our proviſions were very cheap, and we added to our ſhip's ſtores, by taking in ſeveral live hogs, two cows and calves, which I then reſolved to put on ſhore in my iſland, if our neceſſities did not call for them. On the 5th of *February* we ſailed from *Ireland*, with a very fair gale, which laſted for ſome days; and, I think it was about the 20th of the ſame month, late in the evening, when the mate informed us, that he ſaw a flaſh of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was ſpeaking, a boy came in, and told us the boatſwain heard another. Upon which, we all ran to the quarter-deck, from whence, in a few minutes, we perceived a terrible fire at a diſtance. We had immediate recourſe to our reckonings, in which we were all of opinion that there could be no land that way, it appearing to be at *N. N. W.* Hereupon we concluded that ſome ſhip had taken fire at ſea, and that it could not be far off, by the report of the guns which we had heard. We made up directly to it, and in half an hour's time, the wind being fair, we could plainly perceive a great ſhip on fire in the middle of the ſea. Touched with this unhappy diſaſter, and conſidering my former circumſtances, when the *Portugueſe* captain took me up, I immediately ordered five guns to be fired, that the poor creatures (not ſeeing us, it being dark, as we could perceive their flame) might be ſenſible there was a deliverance at hand, and conſequently might endeavour to ſave themſelves

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in their boat. Nor was it long before the ſhip blew up in the air, and the fire extinguiſhed in the ocean. But ſuppoſing them all to be in their boats, we hung out all our lanthorns, and kept firing till eight o'clock in the morning; when, with our proſpectives, we beheld two boats, full of people, making towards us, though the tide was againſt them. Then ſpreading out our antient, and hanging out a waft as a ſignal for them to come on board, in half an hour's time we came up to them, and took them all in, there being no leſs than 64 men, women and children. It was a *French* merchant ſhip of 300 tons, homeward bound from *Quebec* in the river of *Canada*. The maſter informed me, how by the negligence of the ſteerſman, the ſteerage was ſet on fire; that at his outcry for help, the fire was, as they thought, totally extinguiſhed; but that ſome ſparks getting between the timber and between the cieling, it proceeded into the hold, where there was no reſiſting it; that then they got into their boats, as creatures in the laſt extremity, with what proviſion they had, together with oars, ſails, and a compaſs, intending to go back to *Newfoundland*, the wind blowing at *S. E.* and by *E.* tho' there were ſeveral chances againſt them, as ſtorms to overſet and founder them, rains and colds to benumb and periſh their limbs, and contrary winds to keep them out and ſtarve them: But, ſaid he, in this our great diſtreſs, we heard the welcome report of your guns, when, with unſpeakable joy, taking down our maſts and ſails, we were reſolved to lie by till morning; but perceiving your light, we ſet our oars at work to keep our boat a-head, the ſooner to attain your ſhip, the happy inſtrument of our deliverance.

Indeed no one can expreſs the joy of theſe poor creatures on this occaſion: Fear and grief are eaſily ſet forth: Sighs and tears, with a few motions of the hands and head, make up the ſum of its variety: But an exceſs or ſurprize of joy carries in it a thou-

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ſand extravagances; eſpecially, I think, amongſt the *French*, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, paſſionate, ſprightly and fluid, than in other kingdoms. Some were either weeping, tearing themſelves in the greateſt agonies of ſorrow, and running ſtark raving mad about the ſhip; while the reſt were ſtamping with their feet, wringing their hands, ſinging, laughing, ſwooning away, vomiting, fainting; with a few, returning hearty thanks to the Almighty, and croſſing themſelves. I think, if I am not miſtaken, our ſurgeon was obliged to let thirty of them blood. But among the paſſengers there were two prieſts, the one an old, and the other a young man; but what amazed me more, the oldeſt was the worſt: For, no ſooner did he perceive himſelf freed from danger, but he dropped down as it were without life, and to every one's appearance, quite dead; but the ſurgeon, chafing and rubbing his arm, he opened a vein, which at firſt dropped, and then flowing more freely, the old man began to open his eyes, and in a quarter of an hour was well again. But ſoon revolving his happy change, the joy of which whirled his ſpirits about faſter than the veſſels could convey them, his blood became ſo feveriſh, as made him more fit for bedlam than any other place; but the ſurgeon giving him a ſleepy doſe, he was perfectly compoſed next morning.

Remarkable indeed was the behaviour of the young prieſt. At his entrance on board the ſhip, he fell on his face in the moſt humble proſtration to the Almighty. I thought indeed he had fallen into a ſwoon, and ſo ran to help him up; but he modeſtly told me, he was returning his thanks to the Almighty, deſiring me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Creator, he would return me thanks alſo. And indeed he did ſo about three minutes after, with great ſeriouſneſs and affection, though the tears ſtood in his eyes, which confirmed the gratitude of his ſoul. Nor did he leſs ſhew his piety and wiſdom, in applying himſelf

himſelf to his country people, and labouring to compoſe them by the moſt powerful reaſons, arguments, and perſuaſions. And when, indeed theſe people had taken their night's repoſe, in ſuch convenient lodgings as our ſhip would allow, we found nothing but the beſt of manners, and the moſt civil acknowledgments, for which the *French* are eminently remarkable. The next day the captain and one of the prieſts, deſired to ſpeak with me and my nephew the commander. They told us, that they had ſaved ſome money and valuable things out of the ruined veſſel, which was at our ſervice, only that they deſired to be ſet on ſhore ſome where in our way. At the firſt, my nephew was for accepting the money; but I, (who knew how hard my caſe would have been, had the *Portugueze* captain ſerved me ſo) perſuaded him to the contrary; and therefore told them, that as we had done nothing but what we were obliged to do by reaſon and humanity, and what we ourſelves might expect from others in ſuch calamity; ſo we took them up to ſave them, not to plunder them, or leave them naked upon the land, to periſh for want of ſubſiſtence, and therefore would not accept their money: But as to landing them, that was a great difficulty; for being bound to the *Eaſt Indies*, it was impoſſible wilfully to change our voyage upon this particular account, nor my nephew (who was under charter-party to purſue it by way of *Braſil*) anſwer it to the freighters. All that we could do was, to put ourſelves in the way of meeting ſome ſhips homeward bound from the *Weſt Indies*, that if poſſible they might get a paſſage to *France* or *England*. Indeed they were very thankful for our firſt kindneſs; but were under great concern, eſpecially their paſſengers, at their being carried to the *Eaſt Indies*. They begged therefore I would keep on the banks of *Newfoundland*, where probably they might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop to carry them to *Canada*, whence they came. As this was but a reaſonable requeſt,

queſt, I was inclined to grant it, ſince it was no breach of charter-party; and that the laws of God and nature obliged us to do what good we could to our fellow creatures; and beſides, the danger we ourſelves ſhould be in for want of proviſions: So we conſented to carry them to *Newfoundland*, if wind and weather would permit; if not, that we ſhould carry them to *Martinico* in the *Weſt Indies*. But, as it happened, in a week's time we made the banks of *Newfoundland*, where the *French* people hired a bark to carry them to *France*. But the young prieſt being deſirous to go to the *Eaſt Indies*, I readily agreed to it, becauſe I liked his converſation; and two or three of the *French* ſailors alſo entered themſelves on board our ſhip.

Now directing our courſe for the *Weſt Indies*, ſteering *S.* and *S.* by *E.* about 20 days with little wind, another adventure happened to exerciſe our humanity. In the latitude of 27 degrees 5 m. north, the 19th of *March* 1694-5, we perceived a ſail, (our courſe *S. E.* and by *S.*) which bore up to us, and then ſhe appeared to be a large veſſel, having loſt her main-top-maſt, fore-maſt, and bolt-ſprit, when firing a gun, as a ſignal of diſtreſs, wind *N. N. W.* we ſoon came to ſpeak with her. She was a ſhip of *Briſtol*, bound home from *Barbadoes*, out of which road ſhe had been forced by a hurricane to the weſtward, in which they loſt their maſts: They told us, their expectations were to ſee the *Bahama* Iſlands, but were driven away by a ſtrong wind at *N. N. W.* and having no ſails, to work the ſhip with, but the main courſe, and a kind of ſquare ſail upon a jury fore-maſt, becauſe they could not come near the land, were endeavouring to ſtand for the *Canaries*. Nay, what was worſe, beſides all their fatigue, they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſion, having eat nothing for 11 days, all that they had a-board was ſugar, a caſk of freſh water, and ſeven caſks of rum. In this ſhip were three paſſengers; a youth, his mother, and a maid ſervant, who

who were in a moſt deplorable condition for want of food. If I had not gone on board their ſhip, this knowledge of their miſery had been concealed from me, and they would have inevitably periſhed, tho' indeed their ſecond mate (who was captain, by reaſon the true captain was not on board when the hurricane happened) had before informed me, that there were ſuch perſons on board, whom he ſuppoſed to be dead, being afraid to enquire after them, becauſe he had nothing to give them for relief. Hereupon we reſolved to let them have what we could ſpare, ordering the mate to bring ſome of his men on board us, which he did accordingly, yet both he and they looked like ſkeletons; and when meat was ſet before them, I ordered them to eat ſparingly. But, however, they ſoon fell ſick, which obliged the ſurgeon to mix ſomething in their broth, that was to be to them both food and phyſic. When they were fed, we ordered our mate to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil; but the ſurgeon charged them to ſee it boiled, and to keep a guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men eating it raw, and conſequently kill themſelves with what was deſigned for their relief. But particularly I deſired the mate to ſee what condition the poor paſſengers were in, and the ſurgeon gave him a pitcher of the ſame broth which he had prepared for the men: And being curious to ſee this ſcene of miſery myſelf, I took the captain, (as we called the mate of the ſhip) in our own boat, and ſailed after them.

Here was a ſad ſight indeed! Scarce was the victuals half boiled in the pot, but they were ready to break open the cook-room door. To ſtay their ſtomachs, the mate gave them biſcuits, which were dipt in, and ſoftened with the liquor of the meat, which they call *Brewis*; telling them it was for their own ſafety, that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time; and ſo feeding them gradually; their bellies

were comfortably filled, and the men did very well again. But when they came to the poor gentlewoman in the cabin, who for ſeveral days continued without food, giving what ſhe had to her ſon, they found her as it were in the arms of death. She was ſitting upon the floor of the deck, with her back up againſt the ſides, between two chairs, which were laſhed faſt, and her head ſhrunk between her ſhoulders, like a ſenſeleſs corps. Nothing was wanting in my mate to revive and encourage her, opening her lips, and putting ſome broth into her mouth with a ſpoon. But not having ſtrength to ſpeak, ſhe lifted up her head with much difficulty, intimating that it was now too late; at the ſame time pointing to the youth, her ſon, as though ſhe deſired him, to do what he could to ſave him; and, in a little time after, ſhe died.

The youth indeed was not ſo far gone; yet lay ſtretched out in a cabin bed like one that had ſcarce any life: In his mouth was a piece of an old glove, the reſt of which he had eat up. At firſt he vomited up what the mate had given him; but at length began ſenſibly to revive, though in the greateſt concern for the death of his tender mother.

As to the poor maid ſhe lay by her miſtreſs like one in the lateſt pangs of death: Her limbs were diſtorted, one of her hands was claſped round the frame of a chair, which ſhe griped ſo hard, that it was with ſome difficulty we ſeparated her from it; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin table; not only being ſtarved with hunger, but overcome with grief for the loſs of her miſtreſs, whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly. It was a great while before the ſurgeon could bring her to life, and a much longer time before ſhe came to her ſenſes.

After we had ſailed with them ſome days, we ſent them five barrels of beef, one of pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, with peaſe, flour, and other things, taking

taking three caſks of ſugar, ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight for ſatisfaction, we left them, but took the youth and maid with us, with all their goods. The lad was about 17 years old, very handſome, modeſt, ſenſible, and well bred, but mightily concerned for the loſs of his honoured mother, having loſt his father at *Barbadoes* but a few months before. He beſeeched the ſurgeon to intercede with me to take him out of the ſhip; for that the ſailors, not ſparing a ſmall ſuſtenance, had murdered his mother. But hunger has no bounds, no right, and conſequently is incapable of any compaſſion. When the ſurgeon told him that our voyage might put him in bad circumſtances, and farther from his friends, he anſwered, he did not care ſo he was but delivered from that terrible crew: That as the captain (meaning me) had ſaved him from death, ſo he was ſure that he would do him no harm; and as for the maid, when ſhe was reſtored to her ſenſes, ſhe would be no leſs thankful, let us carry them where we would. And indeed the ſurgeon ſo repreſented their caſe to me, that I conſented, and took them on board, with all their goods, except 11 hogſheads of ſugar; but the youth having a bill of lading, I made the commander ſign a writing, to oblige him to deliver a letter and the deceaſed widows goods to Mr *Rogers*, a merchant at *Briſtol*: but I believe the ſhip was loſt at ſea, for we could never hear what became of her afterwards. We were now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. having as yet a tolerable good voyage. But, paſſing by ſeveral little incidents relative to wind and weather, I ſhall relate what is more remarkable concerning my little kingdom, which I was then drawing near. I had great difficulty in attaining it; for as I came to, and went from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt of the iſland, as coming from the *Braſils*; ſo now approaching between the main and the iſland, not having any chart of the coaſt, nor land-mark, it obliged us to go on ſhore ſeveral

iſlands, on the mouth of the great river *Oroonoko*, but to no purpoſe. Then I perceived, that what I thought was a continent before, was no ſuch thing, but a long iſland, or rather a ridge of ſand. On one of theſe iſlands, I found ſome *Spaniards*, but they belonged to the Iſle *de Trinidad*, who came hither in a ſloop to make ſalt, and find ſome pearl muſcles, if they could. But at length I came fair on the ſouth ſide of my iſland, and then I preſently knew the countenance of my little kingdom; ſo we brought the ſhip ſafe to an anchor, with her broadſide to the little creek, where ſtood my antient and venerable caſtle.

No ſooner did I ſee the place, but calling for *Friday*, I aſked him where he was? But when he looked a little, he clapped his hands, crying, *O joy, O there, O yes, O there!* pointing to our old abode, and then fell a dancing and capering as if he was mad; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the ſea, to ſwim aſhore. *Friday*, ſaid I, what do you think, ſhall we ſee your father? At the mentioning his father's name, the poor affectionate creature fell a weeping: *No no* (ſays he) *me ſee him no more, never ſee poor father more! he long ago die, die long ago; he much old man.* You don't know that *Friday*, ſaid I, but ſhall we ſee any body elſe? He looks about, and pointing to the hill above my houſe, he cries out, *We ſee! we ſee! there much men, and there!* which, tho' I could not perceive them with my perſpective glaſs, was true, by what the men themſelves told me the next day.

When the *Engliſh* Ancient was ſpread, and three guns fired as a ſignal of friendſhip, we perceived a ſmoke riſe from the creek; upon which I ordered the boat out, taking *Friday* with me, and hanging out a white flag of truce, I went on ſhore, accompanied alſo by the young Friar, to whom I had related the hiſtory of the firſt part of my life. Beſides, we had ſixteen men well armed, in caſe we had met with any oppoſition. After

After we had rowed directly into the creek, the firſt man I fixed my eye upon was the *Spaniard*, whoſe life I had ſaved, and whoſe face I perfectly well knew. I ordered them all to ſtay in the boat for a while; but *Friday* perceiving his father at a diſtance, would have jumped into the ſea had they not let him go. No ſooner was he on ſhore, but he flew like a ſwift arrow out of a bow, to embrace his ancient father. Certainly it would melt a man of the firmeſt reſolution, into the ſofteſt tears, to ſee with what uncommon tranſports of joy he ſaluted him. He firſt kiſſed him, then ſtroked his face, took him in his arms, laid him under a ſhady tree, ſat down by him, then looked as earneſt at him as one would do at a picture, for a quarter of an hour together. After this he would lie upon the ground, ſtroke his legs, and kiſs them, then get up and ſtare at him as though he was bewitched: But the next day one could not forbear laughter, to ſee his behaviour; for he would walk ſeveral hours with his father along the ſhore, leading him by the hand as though he was a lady, while every now and then he would run to the boat to get ſomething for him; as a lump of ſugar, dram, biſcuit, or ſomething or other that was good. His frolics ran in another channel in the afternoon; for, when he ſet old *Friday* on the ground, he would dance round him, making comical poſtures and geſtures; and all this while would be telling him one ſtory or other of his travels and adventures.

It was on the 10th of *April*, Anno 1695, that I ſet my foot upon the iſland a ſecond time. When my faithful *Spaniard*, accompanied by one more, approached the boat. He little knew who I was, till I diſcovered myſelf to him: *Seignior*, ſaid I, in *Portugueze*, dont you know me? He ſpoke never a word; but, giving his muſket to his attendant, extended his arms, and ſaying ſomething in *Spaniſh* that I did not then underſtand, he came forward and embraced me;

ſaying, he was inexcuſable, not to know his deliverer, who, like an angel ſent from heaven, had ſaved his life. He then beckoned to the man to call out his companions; aſking me if I would walk to my own habitation, and take poſſeſſion, where I ſhould find ſome mean improvements; but indeed they were extraordinary ones; for they had planted ſo many trees, ſo cloſe together, that the place was like a labyrinth, which none could find out except themſelves, who knew its intricate windings. I aſked him the meaning of all theſe fortifications; he told me, he would give me a large account of what had paſt ſince my departure to this time, and how he had ſubdued ſome *Engliſh* who thought to be their murderers, hoping I would not be diſpleaſed, ſince neceſſity compelled them to it. As I knew they were wicked villains, I told him, that I was not only far from finding fault with it, but was rather heartily glad they had ſubdued them. But while we were talking, the man whom he had ſent returned, accompanied by eleven more; but in ſuch habits, that it was impoſſible to tell what nations they were of. He firſt turned to me, pointing to them; Theſe, Sir, ſaid he, are ſome of the gentlemen who owe their lives to your goodneſs; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he made them ſenſible who I was: And then indeed they ſaluted me one by one, not as ordinary men, but as though they had been ambaſſadors of noblemen, and I a triumphant conqueror: For their behaviour not only agreed with a manlike, majeſtic gravity, but, at the ſame time, was ſo obliging and courteous, as made them admirable to the laſt degree.

Before I relate the hiſtory of the tranſactions of my kingdom, as I had it from the *Spaniard*'s own mouth, I muſt here inſert what I omitted in my former relation. The matter is this: Juſt before we weighed anchor to ſet ſail, there happened a quarrel on board the ſhip, which had like to have occaſioned a ſecond mutiny,

mutiny, till ſuch time as the courageous captain, taking two of the moſt refractory priſoners, he laid them in irons, threatening them, as they were concerned in the former diſorders, to have them hanged in *England* for running away with the ſhip. This frightened ſome of the reſt, as thinking the captain would ſerve them in the ſame manner, tho' he ſeemed to give them good words for the preſent. But the mate, having intelligence of this, made me acquainted with their fears; ſo that to make them more eaſy, and ourſelves more ſafe from their conſpiracies, I was obliged to go down, and paſs my *Honour*'s word for it, that, upon their good behaviour, all that was paſt ſhould be pardoned; in teſtimony of which, I ordered the two men's irons to be taken off, and themſelves forgiven. But as this had brought us to an anchor that night, in which there was a calm, the two men that had been in irons, ſtole each of them a muſket, and ſome other weapons, and taking the ſhip's pinnance, not yet hawled up, ran away to their brother rogues. The next morning we ſent the long boat, with men to purſue them, but all in vain. The mate, in revenge, would have demoliſhed my little caſtle, burnt its furniture, and deſtroyed their plantations; but having no orders for it, he did not put it in execution. And thus there were five *Engliſhmen* in the iſland, which cauſed great differences, as my faithful *Spaniard* gave me a perfect account of in the following manner.

You cannot, Sir, but remember the embaſſy you ſent me about, and what a diſappointment we met with, by your abſence, at our return. There is but little variety in the relation of our voyage, being bleſt with calm weather and a ſmooth ſea. Great indeed was the joy of my countrymen, on ſeeing me alive, having acted as the principal man on board, the captain of the ſhip-wreck'd veſſel dying before; nor was their ſurprize leſs, who knowing I was taken priſoner by the ſavages of another nation, thought me long

long ſince entombed in their monſtrous bowels. But, when I ſhewed them the arms, ammunition, and proviſion I had brought for them, they looked upon me as a ſecond *Joſeph* advanced in *Pharaoh*'s Court, and immediately prepared to come along with me. Indeed, they were obliged to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, by borrowing two of their canoes, under a pretext for fiſhing; and they came away the next morning, but without any proviſions of their own, except a few roots, which ſerved them inſtead of bread. After three week's abſence, we arrived at our habitation. Here we met with three *Engliſh* ſailors, who, I confeſs, gave us proviſions, and that letter of directions you had left for us, which informed us, how to bring up tame goats, plant corn, cure grapes, make pots; and, in ſhort, every thing that was neceſſary for our uſe; as in particular, I knew your method beſt: So taking *Friday*'s father to aſſiſt me, we managed all the affairs. Nor were the reſt of the *Spaniards* wanting in their kind offices, dreſſing food for the *Engliſhmen*, who did nothing but ramble and divert themſelves in the woods, either ſhooting parrots, or catching tortoiſes. But we had not been long aſhore, before we were informed of two more *Engliſhmen*, unnaturally turned out of their common place of reſidence, by the three others above-mentioned: This made my *Spaniards* and me (whom they looked upon as their Governor, in your abſence) endeavour to perſuade them to take them in, that we might be as one family; but all our entreaties were in vain; ſo that the poor fellows, finding nothing to be done without induſtry, pitched their tents on the north ſide of the iſland, a little inclining to the weſt, for fear of ſavages. Here they built two huts, one to lodge, and the other to lay their ſtores in; for my good-natured *Spaniards* giving them ſome food, they dug and planted as I had done, and began to live prettily. But while they were going on thus comfortably, the three unnatural

brutes,

brutes, their countrymen, in a mere bullying humour, inſulted them, by ſaying the Governor (meaning you) had given them poſſeſſion of the iſland, and, damn them, they ſhouly build no houſes upon their ground, without paying rent. The two honeſt men (for ſo let me now diſtinguiſh them) thought their three countrymen only jeſted, and one of them invited them in, to ſee their fine habitations; while the other facetiouſly told them, that ſince they built tenements, with great improvements, they ſhould, according to the cuſtom of landlords, give them a longer leaſe; at the ſame time deſiring them to fetch a ſcrivener to draw the writings. One of the wretches, ſwearing he ſhould pay for the jeſt, ſnatches up a fire-brand, and clapping it to the outſide of their hut, very fairly ſet it on fire, which ſoon would have been conſumed, had not the honeſt man thruſt him away, and trod it out with his feet. Hereupon the fellow returns with a pole, with which he would have ended his days, had not the poor man avoided the blow; when fetching his muſket, he knocked the villain down that began the quarrel. The other two, coming to aſſiſt their fellow, obliged the other honeſt man to take his muſket alſo, and both, preſenting their pieces, bid the villains ſtand off; and if they did not lay down their arms, death ſhould decide the diſpute one way or other. This brought them to a parley, in which they agreed to take their wounded man, and be gone; but they were in the wrong that they did not diſarm them when they had the power, and then make their complaint to me and my *Spaniards* for juſtice, which might have prevented their farther deſigns againſt them. And indeed ſo many treſpaſſes did they commit after, by treading down their corn, ſhooting their young kids and goats, and plaguing them night and day, that they reſolved to come to my caſtle, challenge all the three, and decide their right by one plain battle, while the *Spaniards* ſtood by to ſee fair play. One day it happened,

pened, that two of my *Spaniards* (one of whom underſtood *Engliſh*) being in the woods, were met by one of the honeſt men, who complained how barbarous their countrymen had been, in deſtroying their corn, killing their milch-goat and 3 kids, which deprived them of their ſubſiſtence; that if we did not grant them relief, they muſt be inevitably ſtarved; and ſo they parted: But when my *Spaniards* came home at night, and ſupper being on the table, one of them began to reprehend the *Engliſhmen*, but in a very mannerly way; which they reſenting, replied, What buſineſs had their countrymen there without leave? and that it was none of their ground. Why, ſaid my *Spaniard* calmly, *Ingleſe* they muſt not ſtarve: But they replied, Let them ſtarve and be damned, they ſhould neither plant nor build; and damn them, they ſhould be their ſervants, and work for them; for the iſland was theirs, and they would burn all the huts they ſhould find on the land: By this rule (ſaid my *Spaniard* ſmiling) we ſhall be your ſervants too? Aye, by God, and ſo you ſhall, replied the impudent raſcal. Upon which, *Will. Atkins* ſtarting up, cries, come, *Jack*, let's have t'other bruſh with them; who dare to build in our dominions? Thus, leaving us ſomething heated with a juſt paſſion, away they trooped, every man having a gun, piſtol, and ſword, muttering ſome threatening words, that we could then but imperfectly underſtand. That night they deſigned to murder their two companions, and ſlept till midnight in the bower, thinking to fall upon them in their ſleep: Nor were the honeſt men leſs thoughtful concerning them; for at this juncture they were coming to find them out, but in a much fairer way. As ſoon as the villains came to the huts, and found nobody there, they concluded, that I and my *Spaniards* had given them notice, and therefore ſwore to be reveniged on us. Then they demoliſhed the poor men's habitation, not by fire, as they attempted before, but

pulled

pull[illegible] limb from limb, not leaving [illegible] on the ground where they ſtood; [illegible] tore up their trees, [illegible] quite ruined [illegible] had theſe people met [illegible] would have been a bloody battle [illegible] conſidered it for the better: For juſt [illegible] thither, the two were at our caſtle; and when they left us, the three came back again [illegible] telling us what they had done; when one, taking hold of the *Spaniard*'s hat, twirls it round, ſaying, *And you, Seignior* Jack Spaniard, *ſhall have the ſame favour, if you don't mend your manners.* My *Spaniard*, [illegible] but a courageous man, knocked him down with one blow of his fiſt; at which, another villain fired his piſtol, and narrowly miſſed his body, but wounded him a little in the ear. The *Spaniard*, enraged hereat, takes up the fellow's muſket whom he had knocked down, and would have ſhot him, if I and the reſt had not come out, and took their arms from every one of them.

Theſe *Engliſhmen*, perceiving they had made all of us their enemies, began to cool; but notwithſtanding their better words, the *Spaniards* would not return them their arms again; telling them they would do them no manner of harm, if they would live peaceably; but if they offered any injury to the plantation or caſtle, they would ſhoot them as they would do ravenous beaſts. This made them ſo mad, that they went away raging like the furies of hell. They were no ſooner gone, but in came the two honeſt men, fired with the juſteſt rage, if ſuch can be, having been ruined as aforeſaid; and indeed it was very hard, that nineteen of us ſhould be bullied by three villains, continually offending with impunity.

It was a great while, Sir, before we could perſuade the two *Engliſhmen* from purſuing, and undoubtedly killing them with their fire-arms, but we promiſed them

them juſtice ſhould be done them, and in the mean time they ſhould reſide with us in our own habitation. In about five days after, theſe five vagrants, almoſt ſtarved with hunger, drew near our grove; and perceiving me, the Governor, and two others, walking by the ſide of the creek, they very ſubmiſſively deſired to be received into the family again. We told them of their great incivility to us, and of their unnatural barbarity to their countrymen; but yet we would ſee what the reſt agreed to, and would bring them word in half an hour. After ſome debate, we called them in, where their two countrymen laid a heavy charge againſt them, for not only ruining, but deſigning to murder them, which they could not deny. But here I was forced to interpoſe as a mediator; by obliging the two *Engliſhmen* not to hurt them, being naked and unarmed; and that the other three ſhould make them reſtitution, by building their two huts, and fencing their ground in the ſame manner as it was before. Well, being in a miſerable condition, they ſubmitted to this at preſent, and lived ſome time regularly enough, except to the working part, which they did not care for; but the *Spaniards* would have diſpenſed with that, had they continued eaſy and quiet. Their arms being given to them again, they ſcarce had them a week, till they became as troubleſome as ever; but an accident happening ſoon after, obliged us to lay aſide private reſentments, and look to our common preſervation.

One night, Sir, I went to bed perfectly well in health, and yet by no means could I compoſe myſelf to ſleep: Upon which, being very uneaſy, I got up, and looked out, but it being dark, could perceive nothing but the trees around our caſtle: I went to bed again, but it was all one, I could not ſleep; when one of my *Spaniards* hearing me walk about, aſked me, who is that up? I anſwered, 'tis I; when I told him the occaſion; Sir ſaid he, ſuch things are not to be ſlighted;

ſlighted; for certainly there is ſome miſchief plotting near us. Where are the *Engliſhmen?* ſaid I. He anſwered, in their huts: for they lay ſeparate from us, Sir, ſince the laſt mutiny. Well, ſaid I, ſome kind ſpirit gives this information for our advantage. Come, let us look abroad, and ſomething may offer to juſtify our pains. Upon which I and ſome of my *Spaniards* went up to the mountain, not by the ladder, but thro' the grove; and then we were ſtruck into a panic fear by ſeeing a light, as though it were a fire, at a very little diſtance, and hearing the voices of ſeveral men. Hereupon we retreated immediately, and raiſing the reſt of our forces, made them ſenſible of the impending danger: But, with all my authority, I could not make them ſtay where they were, ſo earneſt were they to ſee how things went; though indeed the darkneſs of the night gave them opportunity enough to view them (by the light of the fire) undiſcovered. As they were different parties, and ſtraggling over the ſhore, we were much afraid that they ſhould find out our habitation, and deſtroy our flocks of goats: To prevent which, we ſent one *Engliſhman*, and two *Spaniards*, to drive the goats into the valley where the cave lay; or, if there was occaſion, into the cave itſelf. As to our own parts, reſuming our native courage and prudent conduct, had they not been divided, we durſt venture to attack an hundred of them. But, before it was yet light, we reſolved to ſend out *Friday*'s father as a ſpy; who, immediately ſtripping himſelf naked, gets among them undiſcovered, and in two hour's time, brings word, that they were two parties, of two different nations, who, having lately a bloody battle with one another, happened to land by mere chance on the ſame iſland, to devour their miſerable priſoners; that they were entirely ignorant of any perſon's inhabiting here; but rather, being filled with rage and fury againſt one another, he believed, that as ſoon as day-light appeared, there would be a terrible engagement.

Old *Friday* had ſcarce ended his relation, but we heard an uncommon noiſe, and perceived that there was an horrid engagement between the two armies.

Such was the curioſity of our party, eſpecially the *Engliſhmen*, that they would not lie cloſe, though Old *Friday* told them their ſafety depended upon it; and that, if we had patience, we ſhould behold the ſavages kill one another. However, they uſed ſome caution, by going further into the woods, and placed themſelves in a convenient place to behold the battle.

Never could be a more bloody engagement, nor men of more invincible ſpirits and prudent conduct, according to their way and manner of fighting. It laſted near two hours, till that party which was neareſt our caſtle began to decline, and at laſt to fly from their conquerors. We were undoubtedly, Sir, put into a great conſternation on this account, leſt they ſhould run into our grove, and, conſequently, bring us into the like danger. Hereupon we reſolved to kill the firſt that came, to prevent diſcovery; and that too with our ſwords, and the but-end of our muſkets, for fear the report of our guns ſhould be heard.

And ſo indeed it happened as we thought; for three of the vanquiſhed army croſſing the creek, ran directly to the place, as to a thick wood for ſhelter; nor was it long before our ſcout gave us notice of it; as alſo, that the victors did not think it fit to purſue them. Upon this, I would not ſuffer them to be ſlain, but had them ſurpriſed and taken by our party; and afterwards they proved very good ſervants to us, being ſtout young creatures, and able to do a great deal of work. The remainder of the conquered ſavages, fled to their canoes, and put out into the ocean; while the conquerors, joining together, ſhouted by way of triumph; and about three in the afternoon, they alſo embarked for their own nation. Thus we were freed at once, from the ſavages and our fears, not-

perceiving

perceiving any of theſe creatures for ſome conſiderable time after. We found two and thirty men dead in the field of battle; ſome were ſlain with long arrows, which we found ſticking in their bodies; and the reſt were killed with large unwieldy wooden ſwords, which denoted their vaſt ſtrength; and of which we found ſeventeen, beſides bows and arrows: But we could not find one wounded creature among them alive; for they either kill their enemies quite, or carry thoſe wounded away with them.

This terrible ſight tamed the *Engliſhmen* for ſome time; conſidering how unfortunate they might have been, had they fallen into their hands, who would not only kill them as enemies, but alſo for food, as we do cattle: And, indeed, ſo much did this nauſeate their ſtomachs, that it not only made them very ſick, but more tractable to the common neceſſary buſineſs of the whole ſociety, planting, ſowing, and reaping, with the greateſt ſigns of amity and friendſhip: So that now, being all good friends, we began to conſider of circumſtances in general; and the firſt thing we thought of was, Whether, as we perceived the ſavages haunted that ſide of the iſland, and there being more retired parts of it, and yet as well ſuited to our manner of living, and equally to our advantage, we ought not much rather to move our place of reſidence, and plant it in a much ſafer place, both for the ſecurity of our corn and cattle?

After a long debate on this head, it was reſolved, or rather voted, *nemine contradicente*, not to remove our ancient caſtle; and that for this very good reaſon, that ſome time or other we expected to hear from our ſupreme Governor (meaning you, Sir) whoſe meſſengers, not finding us there, might think the place demoliſhed, and all his ſubjects deſtroyed by the ſavages.

As to the next concern, relating to our corn and cattle, we conſented to have them removed to the val-

ley where the cave was, the land there being propereſt, and ſufficient for both. But yet, when we conſidered further, we altered one part of our reſolution, which was, to remove part of our cattle thither, and there plant only part of our corn; ſo that in caſe one part was deſtroyed, the other might be preſerved. We took another reſolution, which really had a great deal of prudence in it, and that was, in not truſting the three ſavages, which we had taken priſoners, with any knowledge of the plantation we had made in that valley, or of what number of cattle, much leſs the cave, wherein we conveyed ſeveral arms, and two barrels of powder you left for us, at your departure from this iſland. But though we could not change our habitation, we reſolved to make it more fortified and more ſecret. To this end, Sir, as you had planted trees at ſome diſtance before the entrance of your palace, ſo we, imitating your example, planted and filled up the whole ſpace of ground, even to the banks of the creek, nay, into the very ouze where the tide flowed, not leaving a place for landing: And among thoſe you had planted, we alſo intermingled ſo many ſhort ones, all of which growing wonderfully faſt and thick, ſcarcely a little dog could find a paſſage through them. Nor was this ſufficient, as we thought, for we did the ſame to all the ground, to the right and left hand of us, even to the top of the hill, without ſo much as a paſſage for ourſelves, except by the ladder; which being taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft could pretend to come near us. And indeed this was excellently well contrived, eſpecially to ſerve that occaſion, for which we afterwards found it neceſſary.

Thus we lived two years in a happy retirement, not having one viſit from the ſavages all that time. Indeed one morning we had an alarm, which put us into ſome amazement; for a few of my *Spaniards* being out very early, perceived no leſs than twenty ca-

noes,

noes, as it were, coming on ſhore; upon which, returning home with great precipitation, they gave us the alarm, which obliged us to keep at home all that day, and the next, going out only in the night time to make our obſervations: But, as good luck would have it, they were upon another deſign, and did not land that time upon the iſland.

But now there happened another quarrel between the three wicked *Engliſhmen*, and ſome of my *Spaniards*. The occaſion was this: One of them being enraged at one of the ſavages, whom we had taken priſoner, for not being able to comprehend ſomething which he was ſhewing him, he ſnatches up a hatchet in a great fury, not to correct, but to kill him; but miſſing his head, he gave him ſuch a barbarous cut in his ſhoulder, that had like to have ſtruck off his arm; at which, one of my good-natured *Spaniards*, interpoſing between the *Engliſhman* and the poor ſavage, beſeeched the former not to murder the poor creature: But this kindneſs had like to coſt the *Spaniard*'s life; for the *Engliſhman* ſtruck at him in the ſame manner, which he nimbly and ſuddenly avoiding, returned ſuddenly upon him with his ſhovel, (being all at work about their corn-land) and very fairly knocked the brutiſh creature down. Hereupon another *Engliſhman*, coming to his fellow's aſſiſtance, laid the good *Spaniard* on the earth; when immediately two others, coming to his relief, were attacked by the third *Engliſhman*, armed with an old cutlaſs, who wounded them both. But this uproar ſoon reached our ears, who ruſhing out upon them, took the three *Engliſhmen* priſoners: And then, our next queſtion was, what ſhould be done to ſuch mutinous and impudent fellows, ſo furious, deſperate and idle, that they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and conſequently not ſafe for the ſociety to let them live among them.

Now, Sir, as I was Governor in your abſence, ſo I alſo took the authority of a Judge; and having them

brought before me, I told them, That if they had been of my country, I would hang every mother's ſon of them; but ſince it was an *Engliſhman* (meaning you, kind Sir) to whom we were indebted for our preſervation and deliverance, I would, in gratitude, uſe them with all poſſible mildneſs; but, at the ſame time, leave them to the judgment of the two other *Engliſhmen*, who, I hoped, forgetting their reſentments, would deal impartially by them.

Hereupon one of their countrymen ſtood up: *Sir*, ſaid he, *leave it not to us, for you may be ſenſible we have reaſon to ſentence them to the gallows: Beſides, Sir, this fellow*, Will. Atkins, *and the two others, propoſed to us, that we might murder you all in your ſleep, which we would not conſent to; but knowing their inability, and your vigilance, we did not think fit to diſcover it before.*

How, Seignior, ſaid I, do you hear what is alledged againſt you? What can you ſay to juſtify ſo horrid an action as to murder us in cold blood? So far, Sir, was the wretch from denying it, that he ſwore, Damn him but he would do it ſtill. But what have we done to you, Seignior *Atkins*, ſaid I, or what will you gain by killing us? What ſhall we do to prevent you? Muſt we kill you, or you kill us? Why will you, Seignior *Atkins* (ſaid I, ſmiling) put us to ſuch an unhappy *dilemma*, ſuch a fatal neceſſity? But ſo great a rage did my ſcoffing, and yet ſevere jeſt put him into, that he was going to fly at me, and undoubtedly had attempted to kill me, if poſſeſſed of weapons, and had not been prevented by three *Spaniards*. This unparralleled and villainous carriage made us ſeriouſly conſider what was to be done. The two *Engliſhmen* and the *Spaniard*, who had ſaved the poor *Indian*'s life, mightily petitioned me to hang one of them, for an example to the others, which ſhould be him that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet, it being at that time impoſſible the poor ſlave ſhould recover. But they could never gain my conſent to put

him

him to death, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſince it was an *Engliſhman* (even yourſelf) was my deliverer: And, as merciful councils are moſt prevailing, when earneſtly preſſed, ſo I got them to be of the ſame opinion, as to clemency. But to prevent them doing us any future miſchief, we all agreed that they ſhould have no weapons, as ſwords, guns, powder or ſhot, but be expelled from the ſociety, to live how they pleaſed by themſelves: That neither the two *Engliſhmen*, nor the reſt of the *Spaniards*, ſhould have converſation with them upon any account whatſoever: That they ſhould be kept from coming within certain limits of our caſtle; and if they dared to offer us any violence, either by ſpoiling, burning, killing or deſtroying any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle, belonging to the ſociety, we would ſhoot them as freely as we would do beaſts of prey, in whatſoever places we ſhould perceive them.

This ſentence ſeemed very juſt to all but themſelves; when, like a merciful Judge, I called out to the two honeſt *Engliſhmen* ſaying, you muſt conſider they ought not to be ſtarved neither; and ſince it will be ſome time before they can raiſe corn or cattle of their own, let us give them ſome corn to laſt them eight months, and for ſeed to ſow, by which time they will raiſe ſome for themſelves. Let us alſo beſtow upon them 6 milch goats, 4 he ones, and 6 kids, as well for their preſent ſupport, as a farther increaſe; together with tools neceſſary for their work, as hatchets, an axe, ſaw, and other things convenient to build them huts: All which were agreed to; but before they took them in poſſeſſion, I obliged them ſolemnly to ſwear, never to attempt any thing againſt us or their countrymen for the future. Thus diſmiſſing them from our ſociety, they went away, ſullen and refractory, as tho' neither willing to go nor ſtay: However, ſeeing no remedy, they took what proviſion was given

given them, pretending to chuſe a convenient place, where they might live by themſelves.

About five days after, they came to thoſe limits appointed, in order for more victuals, and ſent me word by one of my *Spaniards*, whom they called to, where they had pitched their tents, and marked themſelves out an habitation and plantation, at the *N. E.* and moſt remote part of the iſland. And indeed there they built themſelves two very handſome cottages, reſembling our little caſtle, being under the ſide of a mountain, with ſome trees already growing on three ſides of it; ſo that planting a few more, it would have been obſcured from ſight, unleſs particularly ſought for. Whon theſe huts were finiſhed, we gave them ſome dry goats ſkins for bedding and covering; and, on their giving us fuller ſureties of their good behaviour for the future, we gave them ſome peas, barley, and rice for ſowing, and whatever tools we could ſpare.

Six months did they live in this ſeparate condition, in which they got their firſt harveſt in, the quantity of which was but ſmall, becauſe they had planted but little land: For indeed, all their plantations being to form, made it the more difficult, eſpecially it being a thing out of their element. And when they were obliged to make their boards and pots, *&c.* they could make little or nothing of it. But the rainy ſeaſon coming on, put them into a greater perplexity, for want of a cave to keep their corn dry, and prevent it from ſpoiling: And ſo much did this humble them, that they begged of my *Spaniards* to help them, to which the good natured men readily conſented, and in four days ſpace worked a great hole in the ſide of the hill for them, large enough for their purpoſe, to ſecure their corn and other things from the rain, though not comparable to our's, which had ſeveral additional apartments.

But a new whim poſſeſſed theſe rogues about three quarters of a year afterwards, which had like to have ruined

ruined us, and themſelves too: For it ſeems, being tired and weary of this ſort of living, which made them work themſelves, without hopes of changing their condition, nothing would ſerve them, but they would make a voyage to the continent, and try if they could not ſeize upon ſome of the ſavages, and bring them over, as ſlaves to do their drudgery, while they lived at eaſe and pleaſure.

Indeed the project was not ſo prepoſterous; if they had not gone farther; but they neither did, or propoſed any thing, but what had miſchief in the deſign, or the event. One morning theſe three fellows came down to the limited ſtation, and humbly deſired to be admitted to talk with us, which we readily granted. They told us, in ſhort, that being tired of their manner of living, the labour of their hands, in ſuch employments, not being ſufficient to procure the neceſſaries of life, they only deſired one of the canoes we came over in, with ſome arms and ammunition, for their defence, and they would ſeek their fortunes abroad, and never trouble us any more. To be ſure, we were glad enough to get rid of ſuch wretched plagues; but yet honeſty made us ingenuouſly repreſent to them, by what we ourſelves had ſuffered, the certain deſtruction they were running into, either of being ſtarved to death, or murdered by the ſavages. To this they very audaciouſly replied, that they neither could nor would work; and conſequently, that they might as well be ſtarved abroad as at home: And as to their falling into the hands of the ſavages; why, if they were murdered, that was nothing to us, there was an end of them; they had neither wives or children to cry after them: Nay, ſo intent were they upon their voyage, that if the *Spaniards* would not give them arms, ſo they had but the canoe, they would go without.

But though we could not well ſpare our fire-arms, rather than they ſhould go like naked men, we let them

them have two muſkets, a piſtol, a cutlaſs, and three hatchets, which were thought very ſufficient: We gave them alſo goat's fleſh, a great baſket full of dried grapes, a pot of freſh butter, a young live kid, and a large canoe ſufficient to carry twenty men. And thus, with a maſt made of a long pole, and a ſail of ſix large goat-ſkins dried, having a fair breeze, and a flood tide with them, they ſailed merrily away, the *Spaniards* calling after them, *Bon Veyajo*, no man ever expecting to ſee them again.

When they were gone, the *Spaniards* and *Engliſhmen* would often ſay one to another, *O how peaceable do we now live ſince thoſe turbulent fellows have left us!* Nothing could be farther from their thoughts than to behold their faces any more; and yet ſcarce two and twenty days had paſſed over their heads, but one of the *Engliſhmen*, being abroad a planting, perceived at a diſtance, three men well armed, approaching towards him. Away he flies with ſpeed to our caſtle, and tells me and the reſt, that we were all undone, for that ſtrangers were landed on the iſland, and who they were he could not tell, but added, that they were not ſavages, but men habited, bearing arms. Why then, ſaid I, we have the leſs occaſion to be concerned, ſince, if they are not *Indians*, they muſt be friends; and I am ſure there is no Chriſtian people upon earth, but what will do us good rather than harm. But while we were conſidering of the event, up came the three *Engliſhmen*, whoſe voices we quickly knew, and ſo all our admiration of that nature ceaſed at once. And our wonder was ſucceeded by another ſort of enquiry, which was, What could be the occaſion of their returning ſo quickly to the iſland, when we little expected, and much leſs deſired their company? But, as this was better to be related by themſelves, I ordered them to be brought in, and they gave me the following relation of their voyage.

After two days ſail, or ſomething leſs, they reached land

land, where they found the people coming to give them another ſort of reception, than what they expected or deſired; for being armed with bows and arrows, they durſt not venture on ſhore, but ſteered northward ſix or ſeven hours, till they arrived at an opening, by which they plainly perceived, that the land that appeared from this place, was not the main, but an iſland; that at their entrance into the opening of the ſea, they diſcovered another iſland, on the right hand north, and ſeveral more lying to the weſtward; but being reſolved to go on ſhore ſomewhere or other, they put over to one of the weſtern iſlands. Here they found the natives very courteous to them, giving them ſeveral roots and dried fiſh; nay, even the women too, were as willing to ſupply them with what they could procure them to eat, bringing it a great way to them upon their heads. Among thoſe hoſpitable *Indians* they continued ſome days, enquiring, by ſigns and tokens, what nations lay around them; and were informed, that there were ſeveral fierce and terrible people lived every way, accuſtomed to eat mankind; but, for themſelves, they never uſed ſuch diet, except thoſe who were taken in battle, and of them they made a ſolemn feaſt.

The *Engliſhmen* enquired, how long it was ſince they had a feaſt of that kind; They anſwered, about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; that at this time their king had two hundred priſoners, which were fattening up for the ſlaughter. Mighty deſirous were the *Engliſhmen* for ſeeing the priſoners, which the others miſtaking, thought that they wanted ſome of them for their own *food*: Upon which they beckoned to them, pointing to the riſing, and then to the ſetting of the ſun; that when it appeared in the eaſt the next morning, they would bring them ſome: And indeed they were as good as their words, for by that time they brought 11 men and 5 women, juſt as ſo many cows and oxen are brought

brought to ſea-port towns, to victual a ſhip. But as brutiſh as theſe *Engliſhmen* were, their ſtomachs turned at the ſight. What to do in this caſe they could not tell: To refuſe the priſoners, would have been the higheſt affront offered to the ſavage gentry; and to diſpoſe of them, they knew not in what manner. However, they reſolved to accept them; and ſo gave them, in return, one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets; things which, though wholly ignorant of, they ſeemed entirely contented with; and dragging the poor wretches into the boat, with their hands bound behind them, delivered them to the *Engliſhmen*. But this obliged them to put off as ſoon as they had theſe preſents, leſt the donors might have expected two or three of them to be killed, and to be invited to dinner the next day: and ſo taking leave, with all poſſible reſpect and thanks, though neither of them underſtood what they could ſay, they ſailed away back to the firſt iſland, and there ſet eight of the men priſoners at liberty. In their voyage, they endeavoured to comfort, and have ſome communication with the poor captives; but it was impoſſible to make them ſenſible of any thing; and nothing they could ſay, or give, or do for them, could make them otherwiſe perſuaded, but that they were unbound only to be devoured. If they gave them any food, they thought it was only to fatten them for the ſlaughter; or looked at any one more particularly, the poor creature thought itſelf to be the firſt ſacrifice: And even when they brought them to our iſland, and began to uſe them with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs; yet they expected every day their new maſters would devour them.

And thus, Sir, did theſe three ſtrange wanderers conclude the unaccountable relation of their voyage, which was both amazing and entertaining. Hereupon I aſked them where their new family was? They told me, they had put them into one of their huts, and they came

came to beg ſome victuals for them. This, indeed, made us long to ſee them; and ſo, taking *Friday*'s father with us, leaving only two at our caſtle, we came down to behold theſe poor creatures.

When we arrived at the hut (being bound again by the *Engliſhmen*, for fear of eſcaping) there they all ſat, ſtark naked, expecting their fatal tragedy: There were three luſty comely men, well ſhaped, with ſtrait and fair limbs, between thirty and five and thirty years old; and five women, two of whom might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four and twenty; and the laſt, a comely tall maiden of about ſeventeen. Indeed all the women were very agreeable, both in their proportion and features, except being tawny, which their modeſt behaviour and other graces made amends for, when they afterwards came to be cloathed.

Their naked appearance, together with their miſerable circumſtances, was no very comfortable ſight to my *Spaniards*, who, for their parts, I may venture, Sir, without flattery, to ſay, are men of the beſt behaviour, calmeſt tempers, and ſweeteſt natures, that can poſſibly be: For they immediately ordered *Friday*'s father to ſee if he knew any of them, or if he underſtood what they could ſay. No ſooner did the old *Indian* appear, but he looked at them with great ſeriouſneſs; yet, not being of his nation, they were utter ſtrangers to him, and none could underſtand his ſpeech, or ſigns, but one woman. This was enough to anſwer the deſign, which was, to aſſure them they would not be killed, being fallen into the hands of Chriſtians, who abhorred ſuch barbarity. When they were fully ſatisfied of this, they expreſſed their joy by ſuch ſtrange geſtures, and uncommon tones, as are not poſſible for me to deſcribe. But the woman, their interpreter, was ordered next to enquire, whether they were content to be ſervants, and would work for the men who had brought them hither to ſave their lives?

Hereupon (being by this time unbound) they fell a capering and dancing, one taking this thing upon her ſhoulders, and t'other that, intimating that they were willing to do any thing for them. But now, Sir, having women among us, and dreading that it might occaſion ſome ſtrife, if not blood, I aſked the three men what they would do, and how they intended to uſe theſe creatures, whether as ſervants or women? One of them very pertly and readily anſwered, they would uſe them as both. Gentlemen, ſaid I, as you are your own maſters, I am not going to reſtrain you from that; but methinks, for avoiding diſſentions among you, I would only deſire you to engage, That none of you will take more than one for a woman or a wife; and that having taken this one, none elſe ſhould preſume to touch her; for though we have not a prieſtly authority to marry you, yet it is but reaſonable, that whoever thus takes a woman, ſhould be obliged to maintain her; ſince nobody elſe has any thing to do with her: And this indeed appeared ſo juſt to all preſent, that it was unanimouſly agreed to. Then the *Engliſhmen* aſked my *Spaniards*, whether they deſigned to take any of them? But they all anſwered No; ſome declaring, they had already wives in *Spain*, and others, that they cared not to join with infidels. On the reverſe, the *Engliſhmen* took each of them a temporary wife, and ſet up a new method of living. As to *Friday*'s father, the *Spaniards*, and the three ſavage ſervants we had taken in the late battle, they all lived with me in our ancient caſtle; and indeed we ſupplied the main part of the iſland with food, as neceſſity required. But the moſt remarkable part of the ſtory is, how theſe *Engliſhmen*, who had been ſo much at variance, ſhould agree about the choice of theſe women; yet they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves. They ſet the five women in one of their huts, and going themſelves to the other, drew lots which ſhould have the

firſt

firſt choice. Now he that had the firſt went to the hut, and fetched out her he choſe; and it is remarkable, that he that choſe firſt, took her that was accounted the moſt homely, and eldeſt of the number, which made the reſt of the *Engliſhmen* exceeding merry, and the *Spaniards* themſelves could not but ſmile at it: But, as it happened, the fellow had the beſt thought, in chuſing one fit for application and buſineſs; and indeed ſhe proved the beſt wife of all the parcel.

But, when the poor creatures perceived themſelves placed in a row, and ſeparated one by one, they were again ſeized with an unſpeakable terror, as thinking they were now going to be ſlain in earneſt: And when the *Engliſhman* came to take the firſt, the reſt ſet up a lamentable cry, clapt their arms around her neck, and hanging about her, took their laſt farewel, as they thought, in ſuch trembling agonies, and affectionate embraces, as would have ſoftened the hardeſt heart in the world, and made the drieſt eyes melt into watery tears: Nor could they be perſuaded, but that they were going to die, till ſuch time as *Friday*'s father made them ſenſible, that the *Engliſhmen* had choſen them for their wives; and ſo ended all their terror and concern upon this occaſion.

Well, after this, the *Engliſhmen* went to work, and, being aſſiſted by my good-natured ſavages, in a few hours they erected every one of them a new hut or tent, for their ſeparate lodging, ſince thoſe they had already were filled with tools, houſhold-ſtuff and proviſion. They all continued on the north ſhore of the iſland, but ſeparate as before; the three wicked ones pitched farther off, and the two honeſt men nearer hand to our caſtle: So that the iſland ſeemed to be peopled in three places, three towns beginning to be built for that purpoſe. And here I cannot but remark, what is very common, that the two honeſt men had the worſt wives (I mean as to induſtry,

cleanlineſs and ingenuity) while the three reprobates enjoyed women of the contrary perfections.

But another obſervation I made is in favour of the two honeſt men, to ſhew what diſparity there is between a diligent application to buſineſs, on the one hand, and a ſlothful, negligent, and idle temper, on the other. Both of them had an equal parcel of ground laid out, and corn to ſow ſufficient for them; but both did not make the ſame improvements, either in their cultivation or in their planting. The two honeſt men had a multitude of young trees planted about their habitations, ſo that when you approached near them, nothing appeared but a wood, very pleaſing and delightful. Every thing they did, proſpered and flouriſhed; their grapes, planted in order, ſeemed as though managed in a vineyard, and were infinitely preferable to any of the others. Nor were they wanting to find out a place of retreat; but dug a cave in the moſt retired part of a thick wood, to ſecure their wives and children, with their proviſion and chiefeſt goods, ſurrounded with innumerable ſtakes, and had the moſt ſubtle entrance, in caſe any miſchief ſhould happen, either by their fellow countrymen, or the devouring ſavages.

As to the reprobates (though I muſt own they were much more civilized than before) inſtead of a delightful wood ſurrounding their dwellings, we found the words of King *Solomon* too truly verified: *I went by the vineyard of the ſlothful, and it was overgrown with thorns.* In many places their crop was obſcured by weeds; the hedges, having ſeveral gaps in them, the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn; and here and there was a dead buſh, to ſtop in thoſe gaps for the preſent, which was no more than ſhutting the ſtable-door after the ſteed was ſtolen away. But for their wives, they (as I obſerved before) were more diligent, and cleanly enough, eſpecially in their victuals, being inſtructed by one of the honeſt men, who

who was a cook's mate on board a ſhip: And very well it was ſo, for, cooking himſelf, his companion and their families lived as well as the idle huſbands, who did nothing but loiter about, fetch turtles eggs, catch fiſh and birds, and any thing but work, and they lived accordingly; while the diligent lived very handſomely and plentifully, in the moſt comfortable manner.

And now, Sir, I am come to lay before your eyes a ſcene, quite different from any thing that ever happened to us before; and, perhaps, ever befel you in all the time of your reſidence on this iſland: I ſhall inform you of its original in the following manner.

One morning, Sir, very early, there came five or ſix canoes of *Indians* on ſhore, indiſputably upon their old cuſtom of devouring their priſoners. All that we could do upon ſuch an occaſion, was to lie concealed; and they, not having any notice of the inhabitants, would depart quietly, after performing their bloody execution. Whoever diſcovered theſe ſavages firſt, was to give notice to all the three plantations, to keep within doors; and then a proper ſcout was to be placed, to give us intelligence of their departure. But, notwithſtanding theſe wiſe meaſures, an unhappy diſaſter expoſed us to the knowledge of the ſavages, which had like to have cauſed the deſolation of the whole iſland: For, after the ſavages were gone off in their canoes, ſome of my *Spaniards* and I, looking abroad, and enflamed with a curioſity to ſee what they had been doing here, to our great amazement, we beheld three ſavages faſt aſleep on the ground, who either being gorged, could not awake when the others went; or, having wandered too far into the woods, did not come back in time.

What to do with them at firſt, we could not tell: As for ſlaves we had enough of them already; and as to killing them, neither Chriſtianity, nor humanity, would ſuffer us to ſhed innocent blood, who never did

us wrong, and therefore had no juſt quarrel againſt them, to juſtify our taking their lives away. We perceived they had no boat left them to tranſport them to their own nation; and that, by letting them wander about, they might diſcover us, and inform the firſt ſavages that ſhould happen to land on the ſame bloody occaſion; which information might entirely ruin us; and therefore I counſelled my *Spaniards* to ſecure them, and ſet them about ſome work or other, till we could better diſpoſe of them.

Hereupon we all went back, and, making them awake, took them priſoners. It is impoſſible to expreſs the horror they were in, eſpecially when bound, as thinking they were going to be murdered and eaten; but we ſoon eaſed them of their fear as to that point. We firſt took them to the bower, where was the chief of our country work; as keeping goats, planting corn, *&c.* and then carried them to the two *Engliſhmen*'s habitation, to help them in their buſineſs: But happy it was for us all, we did not carry them to our caſtle, as will appear by the ſequel. The *Engliſhmen* indeed found them work to do; but, whether they did not guard them ſtrictly, or that they thought they could not better themſelves, I cannot tell; but certainly one of them ran away into the woods, and they could not hear of him for a long time after.

Undoubtedly there was reaſon enough to ſuppoſe he got home in ſome of the canoes, the ſavages returning in about four week's time, and going off in the ſpace of two days. You may be certain, Sir, this thought could not but terrify us exceedingly; and made us juſtly conclude, that this ſavage would inform his countrymen of our abode in the iſland, how few and weak we were in compariſon to their numbers; expecting it would not be long before the *Engliſhmen* would be attacked in their habitations; but the ſavages had not ſeen their places of ſafety in the wood, nor our caſtle, which it was a great happineſs they did not know.

Nor

Nor were we miſtaken in our thoughts upon this occaſion: For about eight months after this, ſix canoes of ſavages, with about ten men in each canoe, came ſailing by the north ſide of the iſland, which they were never accuſtomed to do before, and landed about an hour after ſun-riſe, near a mile from the dwelling of the two *Engliſhmen*, who, it ſeems, had the good fortune to diſcover them about a league off; ſo that it was an hour before they could attain the ſhore, and it required ſome longer time before they could come at them. And being now confirmed in this opinion, that they were certainly betrayed, they immediately bound the two ſlaves which were left, cauſing two of the three men, whom they had brought with the women, and who proved very faithful, to lead them, with their wives, and other conveniencies, into their retired cave in the wood, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they had further orders. Then they opened their fences where they kept their milch goats, and drove them all out, giving the goats liberty to wander in the woods, to amuſe the ſavages that they were wild ones; but the ſlave had given a truer information, which made them come to their very incloſures. The two frighted men ſent the other ſlave of the three, who had been with them by accident to alarm the *Spaniards*, and deſire their aſſiſtance; in the mean time they took their arms and ammunition, and made to the cave where they had ſent their wives, and, ſecuring their ſlaves, ſeated themſelves in a private place, from whence they might behold all the actions of the ſavages. Nor had they gone far, and aſcended a riſing ground, but they could ſee a little army of *Indians* approach to their beautiful dwelling; and, in a few moments more, perceived the ſame, and their furniture, to their unſpeakable grief, burning in a conſuming flame: And when this was done, they ſpread here and there, ſearching every buſh and place for the people, of whom it

was

was very evident they had information. Upon which the two *Engliſhmen*, not thinking themſelves ſecure where they ſtood, retreated about half a mile farther in the country, rightly concluding that the farther the ſavages ſtrolled, there would be the leſs number together: Upon which they took their next ſtand where the trunk of an old tree ſtood, very hollow and large, where they reſolved to ſee what would offer. But they had not ſtood long there, before two ſavages came running directly towards them, as though, having knowledge of their being there, they reſolved to attack them. A little farther were three more, and five more behind them again, all running the ſame way. It cannot be imagined what perplexity the poor men were in at this ſight, thinking that, if aſſiſtance did not ſpeedily come, their cave would be diſcovered in the wood, and conſequently all therein loſt. So they reſolved to reſiſt them there; and, when overpowered, would aſcend to the top of the trees, where they would defend themſelves as long as their ammunition laſted, and ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to thoſe devouring ſavages. Thus fixed upon their reſolution, they next conſidered whether they ſhould fire at the firſt two, or wait for the three, and ſo take the middle party, by which the two firſt and the five laſt would be ſeparated. In this regulation the two ſavages alſo confirmed them, by turning a little to the other part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came directly towards the tree. Hereupon they reſolved to take them in a direct line as they approached nearer, becauſe the firſt ſhot might perhaps hit them all three; and upon this occaſion, the man who was to fire charged his piece with three or four bullets. And thus, while they were waiting, the ſavages came on: one of them was the run-away, who had cauſed all their miſchief, ſo they reſolved he ſhould not eſcape, if they both fired at once. But however, though they did not fire together, they were ready charged;

charged; when the firſt that let fly was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for he killed the foremoſt outright; the ſecond, who was the run-away *Indian*, fell on the ground, being ſhot through the body, but not dead; and the third was a little wounded on the ſhoulder, who ſitting down on the ground, fell a ſcreaming in a moſt fearful manner. The noiſe of the guns, which not only made the moſt reſounding echoes, from one ſide to another, but raiſed the birds of all ſorts, fluttering with the moſt confuſed noiſe, ſo much terrified the five ſavages behind, that they ſtood ſtill at firſt like ſo many inanimate images. But when every thing was in its firſt profound ſilence, they came to the place where their companions lay in a miſerable condition: And here, not being ſenſible that they were liable to the ſame fate, they ſtood over the wounded man, undoubtedly enquiring the cauſe of his ſad calamity; and, as 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he told them that it came by lightning and thunder from the Gods, having never ſeen or heard of a gun before, in the whole courſe of their lives. By this time the *Engliſhmen* having loaded their pieces, fired both together a ſecond time, when, ſeeing them all fall immediately upon the ground, they thought they had killed every creature of them. This made them come up boldly before they had charged their guns, which indeed was a wrong ſtep; for, when they came to the place, they found four alive, two of them very little wounded, and one not all, which obliged them to fall upon them with their muſkets: They firſt knocked the run-away ſavage on the head, and another that was but a little wounded in the arm, and then put the other languiſhing wretches out of their pain; while he that was not hurt, with bended knees, and lift up hands, made piteous moans and ſigns to them to ſpare his life: Nor were they indeed unmerciful to the poor wretch, but pointed to him to ſit down at the root of a tree hard by, and then one of the *Engliſhmen*, with a piece of rope

rope twine he had in his pocket by mere chance, tying his two feet faſt together, and his two hands behind him, there they left him, making all the haſte they could after the other two, fearing they ſhould find out their cave; but though they could not overtake them, yet they had the ſatisfaction to perceive them, at a diſtance, croſs over a valley towards the ſea, a quite contrary way to their retreat: Upon which they very contentedly returned to the tree, to look after their priſoner; but when they came there, he was gone, leaving the pieces of rope-yarn wherewith he was bound behind him.

Well, now they were as much concerned as ever, not knowing how near their enemies might be, or in what numbers: Immediately they repaired to their cave, to ſee if all were well there, and found every thing ſafe, except the women, who were frighted upon their huſbands account, whom they now loved entirely. They had not been long here, before ſeven of my *Spaniards* came to aſſiſt them; while the other ten, their ſervants, and *Friday*'s father, were gone to defend their bower, corn and cattle, in caſe the ſavages ſhould have rambled ſo far. There accompanied the ſeven *Spaniards* one of the three ſavages, that had formerly been taken priſoner; and, with them alſo, that very *Indian* whom the *Engliſhmen* had, a little before, left under the tree; for it ſeems they paſſed by that way where the ſlaughter was made, and ſo carried along with them that poor wretch that was left bound. But ſo many priſoners now becoming a burthen to us, and fearing the dreadful conſequence of their eſcaping, moſt of the *Spaniards* and *Engliſh* urged the abſolute neceſſity there was for killing them, for our common preſervation: But, Sir, the authority I bore as Governor overſwayed that piece of cruelty; and then I ordered them to be ſent priſoners to the old cave in the valley, bound hands and feet, with two *Spaniards* to guard them.

So

So much encouraged were the *Engliſhmen*, at the approach of the *Spaniards*, and ſo great was their fury againſt the ſavages, for deſtroying their habitations, that they had not patience to ſtay any longer; but taking five *Spaniards* along with them, armed with four muſkets, a piſtol, and a quarter-ſtaff, away they went in purſuit of their enemies. As they paſſed by the place where the ſavages were ſlain, it was very eaſy to be perceived that more of them had been there, having attempted to carry off their dead bodies, but found it impracticable. From a riſing ground our party had the mortification to ſee the ſmoke that proceeded from the ruins; when, coming farther in ſight of the ſhore, they plainly perceived that the ſavages had embarked in their canoes, and were putting out to ſea. This they were very ſorry for, there being no coming at them, to give them a parting ſalutation: But, however, they were glad enough to get rid of ſuch unwelcome gueſts.

Thus the two honeſt, but unfortunate *Engliſhmen*, being ruined a ſecond time, and their improvements quite deſtroyed, moſt of my good-natured *Spaniards* helped them to rebuild, and we all helped them with needful ſupplies: Nay, what is more remarkable, their three miſchievous countrymen, when they heard it (which was after all theſe diſaſters were over, they living remote eaſtward) ſympathized with them in a very friendly manner, and worked for them ſeveral days; ſo that in a little time their habitation was rebuilt, their neceſſities ſupplied, and themſelves reſtored to their former tranquility.

The ſavages had nothing to boaſt of in this adventure, ſeveral canoes being driven aſhore, followed by two drowned creatures, having undoubtedly met with a ſtorm at ſea, that very night they departed. Nor can it be ſuppoſed otherwiſe, but thoſe, whoſe better fortune it was to attain their native ſhore, would enflame their nation to another ruinous attempt, with a greater

greater force to carry all before them. And indeed ſo it happened; for about ſeven months after, our iſland was invaded with a moſt formidable navy, no leſs than eight and twenty canoes full of ſavages, armed with wooden ſwords, monſtrous clubs, bows and arrows, and ſuch like inſtruments of war, landed that evening at the eaſtermoſt ſide of the iſland.

You may well, Sir, imagine, what conſternation our men were in upon this account, and how ſpeedy they were to execute their reſolution, having only that night's time allowed them. They knew, that ſince they could not withſtand their enemies, concealment was the only way to procure their ſafety: And therefore they took down the huts that were built for the two *Engliſhmen*, and drove their flock of goats, together with their own at the bower, to the old cave in the valley; they left as little appearance of inhabitants as poſſible, and then poſted themſelves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men. As they expected, ſo it happened; for early the next morning the *Indians*, leaving their canoes at the eaſt end of the iſland, came running along the ſhore, about two hundred and fifty in number, as near as can be gueſſed. Our army was but little indeed; and, what was our greater misfortune, we had not arms ſufficient for them: The account, as to the men, Sir, is as follows.

17 Spaniards.	*To arm theſe, they had*	11 *Muſkets.*
5 Engliſhmen.		5 *Piſtols.*
1 *Old* Friday.		3 *Fowling-Pieces.*
3 *The three ſavages, taken with the women, who proved faithful ſervants.*		2 *Swords.*
		3 *Old Halberts.*
		5 *Muſkets, or fowling pieces, taken from the ſailors, whom you reduced.*
3 *Other ſlaves, living with the* Spaniards.		

As to our ſlaves, we gave three of them halberts, and the other three long ſtaffs, with great iron ſpikes at

at the end of them, with hatchets by their ſides: We alſo had hatchets too, ſticking in our girdles, beſides the fire-arms: Nay, two of the women, inſpired with *Amazonian* fortitude, could not be diſſuaded from fighting along with their deareſt huſbands, and if they died, to die with them. Seeing their reſolution, we gave them hatchets likewiſe; but what pleaſed them beſt, were the bows and arrows (which they dexterouſly knew the uſe of) that the *Indians* had left behind them, after their memorable battle, one againſt another.

This was my little army, but of great intrepidity, over which I was chief general and commander; and knowing *Will. Atkins*, though exceedingly wicked, yet a man of invincible courage, I gave him the power of commanding under me: He and ſix men, with their muſkets loaded with ſix or ſeven bullets a-piece, were planted juſt behind a ſmall thicket of buſhes, as an advanced guard, having orders to let the firſt paſs by; and then, when we fired into the middle of them, make a nimble retreat round part of the wood, and ſo come in the rear of the *Spaniards*, who were ſhaded by a thicket of trees. Though the ſavages came on with the fierceneſs of lions, yet they wanted the ſubtilty of foxes, being out of all manner of order, and ſtraggling in heaps every way: And when *Will. Atkins*, after fifty of the ſavages had paſſed by, had ordered three of his men to give fire, ſo great was their conſternation, to ſee ſo many men killed and wounded, and hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, and yet not know whence it came, that they were frightened to the higheſt degree; and when the ſecond volley was given, they concluded no leſs but their companions were ſlain by thunder and lightning from heaven. And in this notion they would have continued, had *Will. Atkins* and his men retired as ſoon as they fired, according to order, or had the reſt been near them, to pour in their ſhot continually, there might have been a com-

plete victory obtained; but ſtaying to load their pieces again, diſcovered the whole matter. They were perceived by ſome of the ſcattering ſavages at a diſtance, who let fly their arrows among them, wounded *Atkins* himſelf, and killed his fellow *Engliſhman*, and one of the *Indians* taken with the women. Nor did our party fail to anſwer them while they retreated, killing above twenty ſavages: And here I cannot but take notice of our poor dying ſlave; though ſtopt from his retreat by a fatal arrow, yet with his ſtaff and hatchet, he deſperately and gallantly aſſailed the purſuers, and killed five of the ſavages, before his life ſubmitted to a multiplicity of wounds. Nor is the cruelty or malice of the *Indians* to be leſs remarked, in breaking the arms, legs, and heads of the two dead bodies, with their clubs and wooden ſwords, after a moſt wretched manner. Hereupon our party was obliged to interpoſe between the ſavages and *Atkins*, who had retreated to a riſing ground in the wood; but after three volleys we were obliged to retreat alſo; for they were ſo very numerous and deſperate, that they came to the very teeth of us, ſhot their arrows like a cloud, and their wounded men, enraged with cruel pain, fought like madmen. They did not think fit to follow us, but drawing themſelves up in a circle, they gave two triumphant ſhouts, in token of victory; though they had the grief to ſee ſeveral of their wounded bleed to death before them.

After I had, Sir, drawn up our little army together upon a riſing ground, *Atkins*, wounded as he was, would have had us attack the whole body of the ſavages at once: But, well pleaſed with the gallantry of the man, we replied, *You perceived*, Seignior Atkins, *how their wounded men fought; let them alone 'till morning, when, being faint, ſtiff and ſore, we ſhall have the fewer to combat with.* To which *Will. Atkins*, ſmiling, replied, *That's very true, Seigniors, and ſo ſhall I too; and that's the reaſon I would fight them now I*

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am warm. We all anſwered, *Seignior Atkins*, for your part, you have behaved yourſelf very gallantly; and if you are not able to approach the enemy in the morning, we will fight for you; till then we think it convenient to wait.

By the brightneſs of the moon that night, we perceived the ſavages in great diſorder, about their dead and wounded men. This made us change our reſolution, by falling upon them in the night, if we could give them one volley undiſcovered. And this we had a fair opportunity to do, by one of the two *Engliſhmen*'s leading us round between the woods and the ſea-ſide weſtward, and turning ſhort ſouth, came privately to a place where the thickeſt of them were. Unheard, and unperceived, eight of us fired among them, and did dreadful execution; and, in half a minute after, eight more of us let fly, killing and wounding abundance of them; and then, dividing ourſelves into three bodies, eight perſons in each body, we marched from among the trees to the very teeth of the enemy, ſending forth the greateſt ſhouts and acclamations. The ſavages, hearing a different noiſe from three quarters at once, ſtood in the utmoſt conſuſion; but coming in ſight of us, let fly a volley of arrows, which wounded poor old *Friday*, yet happily it did not prove mortal. But ruſhing in ſuddenly among them, we fired three ſeveral ways, and then fell to work with our ſwords, ſtaves, hatchets, and the but-end of our muſkets, with ſuch fury as could not be reſiſted; ſo that ſetting forth the moſt diſmal ſcreaming and howling, they had recourſe to their feet, to ſave their lives by a ſpeedy flight. Nor muſt we forget the valour of the two women, for they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, killed many with their arrows, and valiantly deſtroyed ſeveral more with their hatchets.

Indeed we were ſo much tired in fighting theſe two battles, that we did not then trouble ourſelves to purſue them to their canoes, in which we thought they

would preſently put to the ocean: But there happened a dreadful ſtorm at ſea, which continued all that night, and not only prevented their voyage, but daſhed ſeveral of their boats to pieces againſt the beach, and drove the reſt ſo high upon the ſhore, as required infinite pains to get them off again: After our men had taken ſome refreſhment, and a little repoſe, they reſolved to go towards the place of their landing early in the morning, and ſee whether they were gone off, or in what poſture they remained. This neceſſarily led them to the place of battle, where ſeveral of the ſavages were expiring; a ſight no way pleaſing to generous minds, to delight in their miſery, though obliged to conquer them by the law of arms. But our own *Indian* ſlaves put them out of their pain, by diſpatching them with their hatchets. At length, coming in view of the remainder of their army, we found them leaning upon their knees, which were bended towards their mouths, and the head between the two hands: Hereupon, coming within muſket ſhot of them, I ordered two pieces to be fired without ball, in order to alarm them, that we might plainly know whether they had the courage to fight another battle, or were utterly diſpirited from ſuch an attempt, that we might manage them accordingly. And indeed the project took very well; for no ſooner did the ſavages hear the firſt gun, and perceive the flaſh of the ſecond, but they ſuddenly ſtarted upon their feet, in the greateſt conſternation; and when we approached towards them, they ran howling and ſcreaming away up the hill into the country.

We could rather, at firſt, have wiſhed that the weather had permitted them to have gone off to the ſea; but, when we conſidered that their eſcape might occaſion the approach of multitudes to our utter ruin and deſolation, we were very well pleaſed the contrary happened: And *Will. Atkins*, who, though wounded, would not part from us all this while, adviſed us not to

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let ſlip this advantage, but clapping between them and their boats, deprive them of the capacity of ever returning to plague the iſland. *I know*, ſaid he, *there is but one diſpoſal you can make; which is, that theſe creatures, living like beaſts in the wood, may make excurſions, riſle the plantations, and deſtroy the tame goats: But then conſider, we had better have to do with an hundred men, whom we can kill, or make ſlaves of at leiſure, than with a hundred nations, whom it is impoſſible we ſhould ſave ourſelves from, much leſs ſubdue.* This advice, and theſe arguments being approved of, we ſet fire to their boats; and, though they were ſo wet that they would not burn entirely, yet we made them incapable of ſwimming in the ſea. As ſoon as the *Indians* perceived what we were doing, many of them ran out of the woods, in ſight of us, and kneeling down, piteouſly cried out *Oa, Oa, Waramakoa*, intimating, I ſuppoſe, that if we would but ſpare their canoes, they would never trouble us again.

But all their complaints, and ſubmiſſions, and entreaties were in vain; for, ſelf-preſervation obliging us to the contrary, we deſtroyed every one of them that had eſcaped the fury of the ocean. When the *Indians* perceived this, they raiſed a lamentable cry, and ran into the woods, and from thence ranged about the whole iſland. Here we ſhould have conſidered indeed, that making theſe creatures thus deſperate, we ought, at the ſame time, to have ſet a ſufficient guard upon the plantations. The ſavages had before found out the bower, deſtroyed the fences, trod the corn down under foot, and torn up the vines and grapes. But though we were able, upon all occaſions, to fight theſe creatures; yet they were too ſwift for us, nor durſt we go out ſingle, for fear of their numbers: But our only comfort was, they had no weapons, nor any materials to make them; and their extremity appeared in a little time after.

As to our own parts, the only refuge we had left,

was our ſtock of cattle in the valley by the cave, with ſome little corn that grew there, and the plantation of *Will. Atkins* and his companions, one of whom being killed by an arrow, they were now reduced to two. And it is remarkable, that this was the fellow that cut the poor *Indian* with his hatchet, and had a deſign to murder me and my countrymen, the *Spaniards*. Such was our mean condition, that we concluded to drive the ſavages up to the farther part of the iſland, ſouth weſt, at preſent, where no *Indians* landed, killing as many of them as we could, till we had reduced their number, and then give the remainder ſome corn to plant, teaching them how to live by their daily labour. Accordingly we purſued them with our guns, at the hearing of which, they were ſo terrified, that they would fall upon the ground. Every day we killed and wounded ſome of them, and many we found ſtarved to death, ſo that our hearts began to relent at the ſight of ſuch miſerable objects. At laſt, with great difficulty, taking one of them alive, and uſing him with kindneſs and tenderneſs, we brought him to old *Friday*, who talked to him, and told him how good we would be to them all, giving them corn and land to plant and live in, and preſent nouriſhment, provided they would keep within ſuch bounds as ſhould be allotted them, and not do prejudice to others: *And therefore*, ſaid he, *go your way, and inform your countrymen of it; which if they will not agree to, every one of them ſhall be ſlain.*

The poor creatures, thoroughly humbled, and being reduced to about thirty-ſeven, joyfully accepted the offer, and earneſtly begged for ſome food: Hereupon we ſent twelve *Spaniards*, and two *Engliſhmen*, well armed, together with old *Friday*, and three *Indian* ſlaves, who marched to the place where they were; the ſlaves were loaded with a large quantity of bread, and rice cakes, leading three live goats. Being ordered to ſet down on the ſide of the hill, the poor

Indians

Indians eat the victuals very thankfully, and have proved faithful to the laſt, never treſpaſſing beyond their bounds; where at this day they quietly and happily remain, and where we now and then viſit them. They are confined to a neck of land, about a mile and a half broad, and three or four in length, on the ſouth eaſt corner of the iſland, the ſea being before, and lofty mountains behind them, quite from the appearance of canoes, and whoſe countrymen never made enquiry after them. We gave them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; have taught them both to build their huts, make wooden ſpades, plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats and milk them, as likewiſe to make wicker-work, in which I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs they infinitely out-did us, making themſelves ſeveral pretty neceſſaries and fancies, as baſkets, ſieves, bird-cages, and cup-boards, as alſo ſtools, beds, and couches, no leſs uſeful than delightful: And now they live the moſt innocent and inoffenſive creatures that ever were ſubdued in the world, wanting nothing but wives to make them a nation.

Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my ability, an impartial account of the various tranſactions that have happened in the iſland ſince your departure to this day; which, bleſſing us with your preſence, ſeems as if it would make us forget our late ſufferings, though our loſſes are not fully retrieved; and yet we have no reaſon to complain againſt the kind Providence of Heaven. When you inſpect your little kingdom, you will find it ſomething improved in general, your flocks increaſed, and your ſubjects augmented: So that from a deſolate iſland, as this was before your wonderful deliverance upon it, here is a viſible proſpect of its becoming a populous, and well governed little kingdom, to your immortal fame and glory.

The End of the Spaniſh *Governor's Relation.*

The

The Continuation of the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe, *both of thoſe Paſſages that happened during the Time of his Continuance on the Iſland, and after his Departure, till he arrived again in his native Country.*

There is no doubt to ſuppoſe, but that the preceding relation of my faithful *Spaniard* was very agreeable, and no leſs ſurpriſing, to me, the young prieſt, and to all that heard it: Nor were theſe people leſs pleaſed with thoſe abſolutely neceſſary utenſils that I brought them, as knives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels, and pick-axes, with which they made a mighty illuſtration to their habitations. So much were they affected to wicker-work, prompted by the ingenuity of the *Indians* who aſſiſted them, that when I viewed the *Engliſhmen*'s colonies, they ſeemed at a diſtance, as though they had lived like bees in a hive: For *Will. Atkins*, who was now become a very induſtrious and ſober man, had made himſelf a tent of baſket-work round the outſide; the walls were worked in cloſe as a baſket, in pannels, or ſtrong ſquares of 32 in number, ſtanding abont 7 feet high; in the middle was another, not above 22 paces round, but much ſtronger built, being in form eight ſquare, and in the eight corners ſtood eight ſtrong poſts, round the top of which he laid ſtrong pieces, pinned with wooden pins, from which he raiſed a pyramid from the roof, mighty pretty, I aſſure you, and joined very well together with iron ſpikes which he made himſelf; for he had made him a forge with a pair of wooden bellows, and charcoal for his work, forming an anvil out of one of the iron crows to work upon; and in this manner would he make himſelf hooks, ſtaples, ſpikes, bolts, and hinges. After he had pitched the roof of the innermoſt tent, he made it ſo firm between the rafters and the baſket work, thatching that over again with rice-ſtraw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, that his houſe was as dry as if it had been

been tiled or flated. The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, quite round this inner apartment, laying long rafters from the 32 angles, to the top poſts of the inner houſe, about 20 feet diſtant; ſo that there was a ſpace like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near 20 feet in breadth. The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker-work, dividing it into ſix fair apartments, every one of which had a door, firſt into the entry of the main tent, and another into the ſpace and walk that was round it, not only convenient for retreat, but for family neceſſaries. Thoſe ſix ſpaces were not taken up in the circumference. What other apartments the outward circle had, were thus ordered: When you were in at the door of the outer circle, there was a paſſage directly to the door of the inner houſe; on either ſide was a wicker-partition and a door, by which you went firſt into a large room 22 feet wide, and about 30 long, and thro' that into another of a ſmaller length; ſo that in the outward circle were 10 handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, ſerving as retiring rooms, to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle, and four large warehouſes which went in thro' one another, two on either hand of the paſſage that led thro' the outward door to the inner tent. In ſhort, nothing could be built more ingeniouſly, kept more neat, or have better conveniencies: and here lived the three families, *Will. Atkins*, his companion, their wives and children, and the widow of the deceaſed. As to religion, the men ſeldom taught their wives the knowledge of God, any more than the ſailors cuſtom of ſwearing by his name. The greateſt improvement their wives had, was, they taught them to ſpeak Engliſh, ſo as to be underſtood. None of their children were then above ſix years old. They were all fruitful enough; and, I think, the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child.

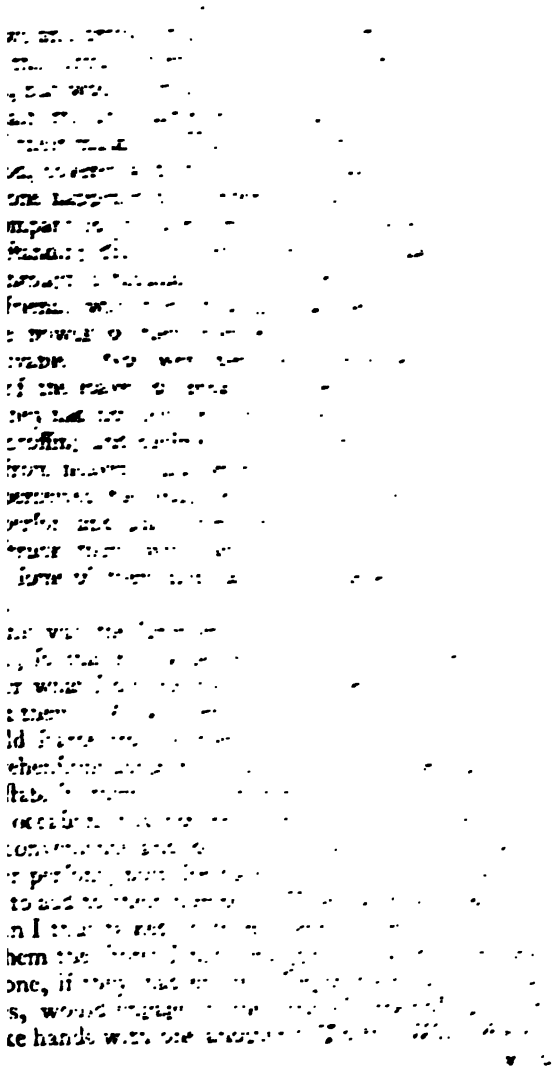
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ſo much as to the *Engliſhmen*. When I enquired of the *Spaniards*, about their circumſtances among the ſavages, they told me, that they were a poor miſerable handful of people, that, having no means put into their hands, were abandoned to deſpair, and thought of nothing but ſtarving. One of them confeſſed, that they were in the wrong to think ſo, and for refuſing the aſſiſtance that reaſon offered for their ſupport, as well as future deliverance: that grief was a moſt inſignificant paſſion, regarding things paſt remedy, and having no hopes of the good things to come, which was an addition to affliction: All which verified this noted proverb,

In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have trouble doubled.

Nor did his remarks end here: for, making obſervations upon my improvements, and of my condition at firſt, infinitely worſe than their's; he told me that *Engliſhmen* had, in their diſtreſs, greater preſence of mind, than thoſe of any other country that he had met with; and that they, and the *Portugueze*, were the worſt men in the world to ſtruggle under misfortune. When they landed among the ſavages, they found but little proviſion, unleſs they would turn canibals; there being but a few roots and herbs with little ſubſtance in them, and of which the natives gave them but very ſparingly. Many were the ways they took to civiliſe and teach the ſavages, but in vain; nor would they own them to be their inſtructors, whoſe lives were owing to their bounty. Their extremities were very great, being many days entirely without food; the ſavages there being more indolent, and leſs devouring, than thoſe who had better ſupplies. Whenever war happened, they aſſiſted theſe people, being compelled thereto, and by which, my faithful *Spaniard* being taken, had like to have been devoured. They had loſt their ammunition, which rendered their fire-arms uſeleſs; nor could they uſe

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with abundance of good humour, ſaid they had afflictions enough to make them all ſober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: As for himſelf, he would live and die among them; owning, that what the *Spaniards* had done to him, his own mad humour had made neceſſary for them to do. Nor had the *Spaniards* occaſion to juſtify this proceeding to me; but they told me, that ſince *Will. Atkins* had behaved himſelf ſo valiantly in fight, and at other times ſhewed ſuch a regard to the common intereſt of them all, they had not only forgot all that was paſt, but thought he ought to be as much truſted with arms and neceſſaries as any of them, which they teſtified by making him command next to the Governor; and they moſt heartily embraced the opportunity of giving me this ſolemn aſſurance, that they would never ſeparate their intereſt again as long as they lived.

Well, upon theſe kind declarations of friendſhip, we appointed all of us to dine together the next day, on which I cauſed the ſhip's cook, and his mate, to come on ſhore for that purpoſe, and the cook's mate on land aſſiſted them in dreſſing our dinner. We brought from the ſhip ſix pieces of beef, and four of pork, together with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of *French* claret, and ten of *Engliſh* beer, which was very acceptable to them. The *Spaniards* added to our feaſt five whole kids; which being roaſted, three of them were ſent as freſh meat to the ſailors on board, and the other two we eat ourſelves. After our merry and innocent feaſt was over, I began to diſtribute my cargo among them; at firſt, I gave them linen ſufficient to make every one of them 4 ſhirts, and, at the *Spaniard*'s requeſt, made them up ſix. The thin *Engliſh* ſtuffs I allotted to make every one a light coat, like a frock, agreeable to the climate; and left them ſuch a quantity, as to make more upon their decay; as alſo for pumps, ſhoes, hats, and ſtockings. I cannot

not expreſs the pleaſing ſatisfaction which ſat upon the countenances of theſe poor men, when they perceived what care I took of them, as if I had been a common father to them all; and they all engaged never to leave the iſland, till I gave my conſent for their departure. Then I preſented to them the people I brought; as the taylor, ſmith, and the two carpenters; but eſpecially my Jack of all trades, was a remarkable man among them. My taylor fell immediately to work, and made every one of them a ſhirt; after which he learned the women to ſew and ſtitch, thereby to become more helpful to their huſbands. Neither were the carpenters leſs uſeful, taking in pieces their clumſy things, inſtead of which they made convenient and handſome tables, ſtools, bedſteads, cupboards, lockers and ſhelves. But when I carried them to ſee *Will. Atkins*'s baſket-houſe, they owned they never ſaw ſuch a piece of natural ingenuity before. *I'm ſure*, ſaid one of the carpenters, *the man that built this has no need of us; you need, Sir, do nothing but give him tools.*

I divided the tools among them in this manner: To every man I gave a digging ſpade, a ſhovel, and a rake, as having no harrows or plows; and to every ſeparate place a pick-axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a ſaw, with a ſtore for a general ſupply, ſhould any be broken or worn out. I left them alſo nails, ſtaples, hinges, hammers, chiſſels, knives, ſciſſars, and all ſorts of tools and iron work; and for the uſe of the ſmith, gave them three tons of unwrought iron for a ſupply: And as to arms and ammunition, I ſtored them even to profuſion, or at leaſt ſufficient to equip a little army, againſt all oppoſers whatſoever.

The young man (whoſe mother was unfortunately ſtarved to death) together with the maid, a pious and well educated young woman, ſeeing things ſo well ordered on ſhore (for I made them accompany me) as alſo conſidering they had no occaſion to go ſo long a

voyage as to the *Eaſt-Indies*; they both deſired of me, that I would leave them there, and enter them among my ſubjects. This I readily agreed to, ordering them a plat of ground, on which were three little houſes erected, environed with baſket work, palliſadoed like *Atkins*'s, and adjoining to his plantation. So contrived were their tents, that each of them had a room apart to lodge in; while the middle tent was not only their ſtore-houſe, but their place for eating and drinking. At this time the two *Engliſhmen* removed their habitations to their former place; ſo that now the iſland was divided into three colonies. *Firſt*, theſe I have juſt now mentioned: *Secondly*, that of *Will. Atkins*, where there were four families of *Engliſhmen*, with their wives and children, the widow and her children; the young man, and the maid, who (by the way) we made a wife of before our departure; three ſavages, who were ſlaves; the taylor, ſmith, (who ſerved alſo as gunſmith) and my other celebrated perſon, called Jack of all Trades. *Thirdly*, my chiefeſt colony conſiſted of *Spaniards*, with old *Friday*, at my old habitation, which was my capital city: And ſurely never was there ſuch a metropolis before, hid in ſo obſcure a grove, that a thouſand men might have ranged the iſland a month, and looking purpoſely for it, I believe, could not have found it; and they had enlarged its boundaries, both without and within, in a ſecret and moſt ſurpriſing manner.

But now I think it high time to ſpeak of the young *French* prieſt, of the order of St. *Benedict*, whoſe judicious and pious diſcourſes upon ſundry occaſions, merit an extraordinary obſervation: Nor can his being a *French Papiſt Prieſt*, I preſume give offence to any of my readers, when they have this aſſurance from me, that he was a perſon of the moſt courteous diſpoſition, extenſive charity, and exalted piety. His arguments were always agreeable to reaſon, and his con-

told him he [illegible] a different perſuaſion, [illegible] did not differ in [illegible] country, [illegible] in the [illegible] Chriſt. [illegible] eaſily be ſeparated from [illegible] courſe with [illegible] but, if we [illegible] my deſiring the [illegible] to defend his own [illegible] that he would [illegible] a prieſt, as well as [illegible] of all that were [illegible] pray with, he would pray [illegible] And then he [illegible] his life within [illegible] laſt, which was [illegible] voyage he had the misfortune to be [illegible] and unſhipped. His firſt deſign was to have gone to *Martinico*, for which he took ſhip at St. *Malo*, but was forced into *Liſbon* by bad weather, the veſſel running aground in the mouth of the *Tagus*: That from thence he went on board a *Portugueſe* ſhip bound to the *Ma-*

deiras, whoſe maſter being but an indifferent mariner, and out of his reckoning, they were drove to *Fial*, where ſelling their commodity, which was corn, they reſolved to take in their loading at the Iſle of *May*, and to ſail to *Newfoundland*; at the banks of which they met a *French* ſhip, bound to *Quebec*, in the river of *Canada*, and from thence to *Martinico*: In this ſhip he embarked, the maſter of which dying at *Quebec*, that voyage was ſuſpended: And laſtly, ſhipping himſelf for *France*, that ſhip was deſtroyed by the fury of the flames, as before has been related: And ſo our diſcourſe ended for that time.

Another morning he comes to me, juſt as I was going to viſit the *Engliſhmens* colony, and tells me, That as he knew the proſperity of the iſland was my principal deſire, ſo he had ſomething to communicate agreeable to my deſign, and perhaps might put it, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of the benediction of heaven. How, Sir! ſaid I in a ſurprize, are we not yet in the way of God's bleſſing, after all theſe ſignal providencies and deliverances, of which you have had ſuch an ample relation? He replied, I hope, Sir, you are in the way, and that your good deſign will proſper; but ſtill there are ſome among you that are not equally right in their actions: And remember, I beſeech you, Sir, that *Achan*, by his crime, removed God's bleſſing from the camp of the Children of *Iſrael*; that, though ſix and thirty were entirely innocent, yet they became the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of the puniſhment accordingly.

So ſenſibly was I touched with this diſcourſe, and ſo ſatisfied with that ardent piety that enflamed his ſoul, that I deſired him to accompany me to the *Engliſhmens* plantations, which he was very glad of, by reaſon theſe were the ſubjects of what he deſigned to diſcourſe with me about. So we walked on together, and then he began in the following manner:

Sir,

Sir, said he, I must confess [illegible]
that we differ in several [illegible]
gion; but [illegible] this we agree [illegible]
GOD, who, having given [illegible]
our service and obedience [illegible]
knowingly to offend [illegible]
has commanded, or [illegible]
And this too is owned [illegible]
ever any persons pretend [illegible]
command, the Almighty [illegible]
them; and therefore [illegible]
such neglect of, or [illegible]
so long as any person [illegible]
I thanked him for [illegible]
and desired him to [illegible]
had observed, that [illegible]
I might remove that [illegible]
then, Sir, said he, [illegible]
Englishmen, who [illegible]
their wives, by whom [illegible]
and yet not legally married [illegible]
man require; that [illegible]
terers, and, living [illegible]
of God. I know [illegible]
a priest or clergyman [illegible]
and paper, to write [illegible]
have it signed between [illegible]
what the *Spanish* [illegible]
chusing by consent [illegible]
any more than [illegible]
relling among themselves [illegible]
crament of matrimony [illegible]
sists in mutual consent [illegible]
which compels them [illegible]
another, to abstain from [illegible]
vide for their wives and [illegible]
the same, or like [illegible]
side: whereas [illegible]

ſure, or any occaſion, forſake theſe women to marry others, and by diſowning their children, ſuffer them utterly to periſh. And now, Sir, added he, can God be honoured in ſuch an unlawful liberty as this? How can a bleſſing ſucceed the beſt endeavours, if men are allowed to live in open adultery? Indeed I was ſtruck with the thing itſelf, and they were much to blame that no formal contract had been made, though it had been breaking a ſtick between them, to engage them to live as man and wife, never to ſeparate, but love, cheriſh, and comfort one another all their lives. But, Sir, ſaid I, when they took theſe women, I was not here; and if it is adultery, 'tis paſt my remedy, and I cannot help it. 'Tis true, Sir, anſwered the young Prieſt, you cannot be charged with that part of the crime which was done in your abſence: But, I beſeech you don't flatter yourſelf that you are under no obligation now to put a period to it; which, if you neglect to do, the guilt will be entirely on you alone, ſince it is certainly in nobody's power but your's to alter their condition. I muſt confeſs I was ſo dull, that I thought he meant I ſhould part them, which, knowing it would put the whole iſland in confuſion, I told him I could not conſent to upon any account whatſoever. Sir, ſaid he in a great ſurprize, I do not mean that you ſhould ſeparate, but marry them: I mean your way, by a written contract, ſigned by both man and woman, and by all the witneſſes preſent, which all the *European* laws decree to be of ſufficient efficacy. Amazed with ſuch true piety and ſincerity, and conſidering the validity of a written contract, I acknowledged all that he ſaid to be very juſt and kind, and that I would diſcourſe with the men about it: Neither could I ſee what reaſon they could have not to let him marry them, whoſe authority in that affair is owned to be as authentic as if they were married by any of our clergymen in *England*.

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given you offence: No, Sir, ſaid I, I'm rather confounded; and you know my circumſtances, that being bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in a merchant-ſhip, I cannot wrong the owners ſo much, as to detain the ſhip here, the men lying at victuals and wages on their account. If I ſtay above twelve days, I muſt pay 3*l. ſterling*, *per diem*, demorage, nor muſt the ſhip ſtay above eight days more, ſo that I'm unable to engage in this work, unleſs I would leave the ſhip, and ſo be reduced to my former condition. The prieſt, though he owned this was hard upon me, yet laid it to my conſcience, whether the bleſſing of ſaving ſeven and thirty ſouls, was not worth venturing all that I had in the world? Sir, ſaid I, 'tis very true; but, as you are an eccleſiaſtic, it naturally falls into your profeſſion: why therefore don't you rather offer to undertake it yourſelf, than preſs me to it? Upon this he turned about, making a very low bow, I moſt humbly thank God and you, Sir, ſaid he, for ſo bleſſed a call, and moſt willingly undertake ſo glorious an office, which will ſufficiently compenſate all the difficulties and hazards I have gone through, in a long and uncomfortable voyage.

While he was thus ſpeaking, I could diſcover a rapture in his face, by his colour going and coming; at the ſame time his eyes ſparkled like fire; with all the ſigns of the moſt zealous tranſports. And when I aſked whether he was in earneſt? Sir, ſaid he, it was to preach to the *Indians* I conſented to come along with you; theſe infidels, even in this little iſland, are infinitely of more worth than my poor life; and, ſo I am the happy inſtrument of ſaving theſe poor creatures ſouls, I care not if I never ſee my native country again. The only thing I beg of you more is, that you would leave *Friday* with me, to be my interpreter, without whoſe aſſiſtance neither of us will underſtand each other.

This requeſt very ſenſibly troubled me, firſt, upon *Friday's*

Friday's being bred a Protein
affection I bore to him for
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into my head, I recommend
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aſked them if they were
They anſwered two
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informing the Prieſt, he was exceedingly rejoiced.

Nothing now remained, but that the women were to be made ſenſible of the meaning of the thing, with which being well ſatisfied, they and their huſbands attended at my apartment the next morning. There was my Prieſt, habited in a black veſt, ſomething like a caſſock, with a ſaſh round it, much reſembling a Miniſter, and I was his interpreter. But the ſeriouſneſs of his behaviour, and the ſcruples he made of marrying the women who were not baptized, gave them an exceeding reverence for his perſon: Nor indeed would he marry them at all, till he obtained my liberty to diſcourſe both with the men and women; and then he told them, That, in the ſight of all indifferent men, and in the ſenſe of the laws of ſociety, they had lived in open adultery, which nothing now, but their conſent to marry, or final ſeparation, could put an end to; and even here was a difficulty, with reſpect to the laws of Chriſtian matrimony, in marrying a profeſſed Chriſtian to an Heathen idolater, unbaptized; but yet there was time enough to make them profeſs the name of Chriſt, without which nothing could be done; that beſides, he believed themſelves very indifferent Chriſtians, and conſequently had not diſcourſed with their wives on that ſubject; and that unleſs they promiſed him to do ſo, he could not marry them, as being expreſsly forbidden by the laws of God.

All this they heard attentively, and owned readily: But, Lord, Sir, ſaid *Will. Atkins* to me, how ſhould we teach them religion, who know nothing of it ourſelves? and ſhould we talk to our wives of God, Jeſus Chriſt, Heaven and Hell, they would only laugh at us, who never yet have practiſed religion, but on the contrary all manner of wickedneſs. *Will. Atkins*, ſaid I, can't you tell your wife ſhe's in the wrong, and that her Gods are idols, which can neither hear, ſpeak or underſtand; but that our God, who has made,

can

late for men to repent in this world. I told *Atkins* every word the Prieſt had ſaid, who then parted from us to talk to his wife, while we diſcourſed with the reſt: But thoſe were very ſtupid in religious matters, yet all of them promiſed to do their endeavours to make their wives turn Chriſtians; and, upon theſe promiſes, the Prieſt married the three couple. But, as *Atkins* was the only ſincere convert, and of more ſenſe than the reſt, my Clergyman was earneſtly enquiring after him: Sir, ſaid he, let's walk out of this labyrinth, and I dare ſay we ſhall find this poor man preaching to his wife already. And indeed we found it true; for, coming to the edge of the wood, we perceived *Atkins* and his ſavage wife, ſitting under the ſhade of a buſh in very earneſt diſcourſe: He pointed to the ſun, to the quarters of the earth, to himſelf, to her, the wood, and the trees. Immediately we could perceive him ſtart upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; at which the tears ran down my Clergyman's cheeks; but our great misfortune was, that we could not hear one word that paſſed between them. Another time he would embrace her, wiping the tears from her eyes, kiſſing her with the greateſt tranſports, and then both kneeled down for ſome minutes together. Such raptures of joy did this occaſion in my young Prieſt, that he could ſcarcely contain himſelf: And a little after this, we obſerved by her motion, as frequently lifting up her hands and laying them on her breaſt, that ſhe was mightily affected with his doctrine; and ſo they withdrew from our ſight.

When we came back, we found them both waiting to be called in; upon which we agreed to examine him alone, and ſo I began thus to diſcourſe him. Prithee, *Will. Atkins*, ſaid I, what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I ſhall be: He was, Sir, a Clergyman, who gave me good inſtruction, or

cor-

correction, which I deſpiſed, like a brute as I was, and murdered my poor father.

Prieſt. Ha! a murderer*.

* *Here the Prieſt ſtarted and looked pale, at thinking he had really killed his father.*

R. C. What, did you kill him with your hands?

W. A. No, Sir, I did not cut his throat, but broke his heart by the moſt unnatural return of diſobedience to the tendereſt and beſt of fathers.

R. C. Well, I pray God grant you repentance; I did not aſk you to extort a confeſſion; but I aſked you, becauſe I ſee you have more knowledge of what is good, than your companions.

W. A. O, Sir, whenever I look back upon my paſt life, my conſcience upbraids me with my father; the ſins againſt our parents make the deepeſt wounds, and their weight lies the heavieſt on the mind.

R. C. You talk, *Will.* too feelingly and ſenſibly for me: I am not able to bear it.

W. A. You bear it, Sir! you know nothing of it.

R. C. But yes, *Atkins*, I do; and every ſhore, valley, and tree in this iſland, witneſs the anguiſh of my ſoul for my undutifulneſs to my kind father, whom I have murdered likewiſe; yet my repentance falls infinitely ſhort of yours. But, *Will*, how comes the ſenſe of this matter to touch you juſt now?

W. A. Sir, the work you have ſet me about has occaſioned it; for, talking to my wife about God and religion, ſhe has preached me ſuch a ſermon, that I ſhall retain it in laſting remembrance.

R. C. No, no, 'tis your own moving pious arguments to her, has made conſcience fling them back upon you. But, pray, *Atkins*, inform us what paſſed between you and your wife, and in what manner did you begin?

W. A. I talked to her of the laws of marriage, the reaſon of ſuch compacts, whereby order and juſtice is maintained; without which, men would run from

Wife. YOU tell me marriage God appoi
you God in your country?

W. A. Yes, child, God is in every nation

Wife. No, great old *Benamuckee* God is m
try, not yours.

W. A. My dear, God is in heaven, w
made, the earth, the ſea, and all therein.

Wife. Why you not tell me much long ag

W. A. My dear, I've been a wicked wret
ing a long time lived without the knowledge
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Wife. What, not know great God in own
No do good ting? No ſay O to him?
ſtrange!

W. A. But, my dear, many live as if there
God in heaven for all that.

Wife. Why God ſuffer this? Why makee
well?

W. A. It is our own faults, child.

Wife. But if he much great, can makee ki
no makee kill when no ſerve him? no be goo

S. Then me not be[illegible]
kill, when you [illegible]
A. Alas! mak[illegible]
ng in him.
S. How can [illegible]
ing to leave. [illegible]

A. Ye[illegible], yes, my [illegible]
ve do, and know [illegible]
S. Where then [illegible]
you curse, [illegible]
A. My dear, [illegible]
ot a man who has [illegible]
S. Mercy! [illegible]
A. He pities [illegible]
r, so also is he [illegible]
S. So God [illegible]
ne no good, [illegible]
A. O, my [illegible]
times he shows [illegible]
and vengeance.
S. Then [illegible]
o bad thing[illegible]

A. No indeed [illegible]
odness.
S. Well, [illegible]
im no [illegible]
A. 'Tis [illegible]
hat I [illegible]
S. W[illegible]
much [illegible]
A. [illegible]
his [illegible]
S. [illegible]
[illegible]
A. [illegible]
[illegible]

their wives and children, to the diſſolution of families and inheritances.

R. C. Well, and what did ſhe ſay to all this?

W. A. Sir, we began our diſcourſe in the following manner, which I ſhall repeat exactly, according to my mean capacity, if you think it worth your while to honour it with your attention.

The DIALOGUE *between* Will. Atkins, *and his Wife in the Wood.*

Wife. YOU tell me marriage God appoint: have you God in your country?

W. A. Yes, child, God is in every nation.

Wife. No, great old *Benamuckee* God is my country, not yours.

W. A. My dear, God is in heaven, which he made, the earth, the ſea, and all therein.

Wife. Why you not tell me much long ago?

W. A. My dear, I've been a wicked wretch, having a long time lived without the knowledge of God in the world.

Wife. What, not know great God in own nation? No do good ting? No ſay O to him? That's ſtrange!

W. A. But, my dear, many live as if there was no God in heaven for all that.

Wife. Why God ſuffer this? Why makee not live well?

W. A. It is our own faults, child.

Wife. But if he much great, can makee kill, why no makee kill when no ſerve him? no be good mans, no cry O to him?

W. A. That is true, my dear, he may ſtrike us dead, but his abundant mercy ſpareth us.

Wife. Did not you tell God tankee for that?

W. A. No, I have neither thanked him for his mercy, nor feared him for his power.

Wife

A. Ye
Wife. Where
you came
A. My
ot a
Wife. Mercy
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Wife. So God
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ed his goodneſs.
Wife. Pray make
angry, no do bad
A. You mean, my dear,
n you to know God: And

he muſt teach thee, and not I. But I'll pray earneſtly to him to direct thee, and to forgive me, a miſerable ſinner. Hereupon I went a little diſtance, and, kneeling down, prayed earneſtly to God to enlighten her mind and to pardon her ſins: When this was done, we continued our diſcourſe thus.

Wife. What you put down knee for? For what hold up hand? Who you ſpeak to?

W. A. My dear, I bowed in token of ſubmiſſion to him that made me, and prayed that he would open your eyes and underſtanding.

Wife. And can he do that too? And will he hear what you ſay?

W. A. Yes, my dear, he bids us pray, and has gived his promiſe that he will hear us.

Wife. When did he bid us pray? What, do you hear him ſpeak?

W. A. No, my dear, but God has ſpoken formerly to good men from heaven; and by divine revelation, they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. O, where dat good book?

W. A. I have it not now by me; but, one time or other, I ſhall get it for you to read. Then he embraced her with great affection.

Wife. Pray tell-a me how God teachee them write that book?

W. A. By that rule we know him to be God.

Wife. What way what rule you know him?

W. A. Becauſe he teaches what is good, juſt, and holy; and forbids all wicked and abominable actions that incur his diſpleaſure.

Wife. O me fain underſtand that, and if he do all things you ſay he do, ſurely he hear me ſay O to him; he makee me good, if I wiſh to be good; he no kill me, if I love him; me tink, believe him great God; me ſay O to him along with you, my dear.

Hear the poor man fell upon his knees, and made her kneel down by him, praying in the greateſt fervency,

venoy that God would inſtruct her by his holy ſpirit; and that ſome time God, by his providence, would ſend them a Bible for both their inſtruction. And ſuch was the early piety of this new convert, that ſhe made him promiſe never to forſake God any more; leſt, being made dead, as ſhe called it, ſhe ſhould not only want her inſtructor, but himſelf be miſerable in a long eternity.

Such a ſurpriſing account as this was, proved very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young Clergyman, who was mightily concerned he could not talk to her himſelf: Sir, ſaid he, there is ſomething more to be done to this woman than to marry her: I mean that ſhe ought to be baptized. To this I preſently agreed: Pray, ſaid he again, aſk her huſband, whether he has ever talked to her of JeſusChriſt, the ſalvation of ſinners, the nature of faith and redemption in and by him, of the holy ſpirit, the reſurrection, laſt judgment, and a future ſtate; but the poor fellow melted into tears at this queſtion, ſaying, that he had ſaid ſomething to her of theſe things, but his own conſcience terrifying him with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, he was afraid leſt her knowledge of it ſhould rather make her contemn religion, than embrace it; but if I would diſcourſe with her, it was probable my labour would not be in vain. Accordingly I called her in, and placing myſelf as interpreter between the religious prieſt and the woman, I entreated him to go on: But ſurely never was ſuch a ſermon preached by any clergyman in theſe latter days of the world, which had ſo much zeal, knowledge and ſincerity: in ſhort, he brought the woman to embrace the knowlege of Chriſt, and of redemption by him, with ſo ſurpriſing a degree of underſtanding, that ſhe made it her own requeſt to be baptized.

And now he performed his office in the ſacrament of Baptiſm, firſt by ſaying ſome words over to himſelf in *Latin*, and then, aſking me to give her a name, as being her godfather, he poured a whole diſhful of

water upon the woman's head, ſaying, MARY, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo that none could know what religion he was of; and after, he pronounced the benediction in *Latin*. Thus, the woman being made a Chriſtian, he married her to *Will. Atkins*, which being finiſhed, he affectionately exhorted him to lead a holy life for the future; that, ſince the Almighty, by the convictions of his conſcience, had honoured him to be the inſtrument of his wife's converſion, he ſhould not diſhonour the grace of God, leſt, while the ſavage was converted, the inſtrument ſhould be caſt away. And thus ended the ceremony, which made it the moſt pleaſant and agreeable day I ever paſſed in my life.

The affairs of the iſland being ſettled, I was preparing to go on board, when the young man, whoſe mother was ſtarved, came to me, ſaying, That, as he underſtood I had a clergyman with me, who had married the *Engliſhmen* with ſavages, he had a match to make between two Chriſtians, which he deſired might be finiſhed before I departed. But, thinking it was himſelf that had courted his mother's maid, I perſuaded him not to do any thing raſhly upon the account of his ſolitary circumſtances; that the maid was an unequal match for him, both in reſpect to ſubſtance and years; and that it was very probable he would live to return to his own country, where he might have a far better choice. At theſe words, he ſmilingly interrupted me, thanking me for my good advice; that, as he had nothing to beg of me, but a ſmall ſettlement, with a ſervant or two, or ſome few neceſſaries; ſo he hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I returned to *England*, but give his letters to his friends; and that, when he was redeemed, the plantation, and all its improvements, however valuable, ſhould be returned to me again: But, as for the marriage he propoſed, why truly it was between my Jack of all Trades, and the maid *Suſan*.

Indeed

Indeed I was agreeably ſurpriſed at the mentioning this match, which ſeemed very ſuitable; the one being a very ingenious fellow, and the other an excellent, dexterous, and ſenſible houſe-wife, fit to be governeſs of the whole iſland: So we married them the ſame day; and as I was her father, and gave her away, ſo I gave her a handſome portion, and appointed her and her huſband a large convenient ſpace of ground for their plantation. The ſharing out of the land to them, I left to *Will. Atkins*, who really very juſtly divided it to every perſon's ſatisfaction: They only deſired one general writing, under my hand, for the whole, which I cauſed to be drawn up, ſigned and ſealed to them, ſetting out their bounds, and giving them a right to the whole poſſeſſion of their reſpective plantations, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reſerving all the reſt of the iſland as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after 11 years. As to their laws and government, I exhorted them to love one another: And as to the *Indians*, who lived in a neck by themſelves, I allotted three or four of them plantations, and the reſt willingly choſe to become ſervants to all the other families, by which means they were employed in uſeful labour, and fared much better than they did before. Thus the ſavages, being mixed with the Chriſtians, the work of the converſion of the *Indians* might be ſet on foot by the latter, in the clergyman's abſence, to our equal ſatisfaction. But how, ſaid the young Prieſt, ſhall I know that the Chriſtians will do their parts to inſtruct them; I told him we would call them all together, that he ſhould ſpeak to the *Spaniards*, who were Papiſts, and I to the *Engliſh*, who were Proteſtants, and make them promiſe that they would never make any diſtinction in religion, but teach the general true knowledge of God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in order to convert the poor ſavages: And this indeed they all promiſed us accordingly.

When

When I came to *Will. Atkins*'s houſe, I found his baptized wife, and the young woman newly married to my Jack of all Trades, were become great intimates, and diſcourſing of religion together: O Sir, ſaid *Will. Atkins*, when God has ſinners to reconcile to himſelf, he never wants an inſtructor: I knew I was unworthy for ſo good a work, and therefore this young woman has been ſent hither, as it were from heaven, who is ſufficient to convert a whole iſland of ſavages. The young woman bluſhed, and was going to riſe, but I deſired her to ſit ſtill, and hoped that God would bleſs her in ſo good a work: And then, pulling out a Bible, which I brought on purpoſe in my pocket for him; here *Atkins*, ſaid I, here is an aſſiſtant that perhaps you had not before. So confounded was the poor man, that it was ſome time before he could ſpeak; at laſt, turning to his wife, my dear, ſaid he, did I not tell you that God could hear what we ſaid? Here is the book I prayed for when you and I kneeled under the buſh: God then heard us, and now has ſent it. The woman was ſurpriſed, and thought God had really ſent that individual book from heaven; but I turned to the young woman, and deſired her to explain to the new convert, that God may properly be ſaid to anſwer our petitions, when, in the courſe of his Providence, ſuch particular things as we petitioned for come to paſs. This the young woman did effectually; but ſurely *Will. Atkins*'s joy cannot be expreſſed, no man in the world being more thankful for any thing, than he was for this bible, nor deſire it from a better principle.

After ſeveral religious diſcourſes, I deſired the young woman to give me an account of the anguiſh ſhe felt when ſhe was ſtarving to death for hunger; to which ſhe readily conſented, and began in the following manner:

"Sir, ſaid ſhe, all our victuals being gone, after I had faſted one day, my ſtomach was very ſickiſh, and

ind, at the approach of
yawning and homing. W
three ho
after, my
down a
ill. T
riety, firſt hunger,
to vomit. T
does, burying
But when I awaked,
to find myſelf in the extremity of
was but one glaſs of wine,
ſugar, I drank up; but, for want
geſt upon, the fumes of it got
made me ſenſeleſs for ſome time.
was ſo ravenous and furious, that I
little child had it come in my way
time I was as mad as any creature
one of theſe fits I fell down, and
gainſt the corner of a paller-bed,
lay: The blood guſhed out
exceſſive bleeding, both the
the ravenous part of the
ſick again, ſtrove to vom
ing a ſecond time, I
to myſelf again, I had
ſtomach, which went
ing deſire for food.
ſugar, but it came
out ſugar, and
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fore recommend
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that came from my noſe in a baſon, which I immediately ſwallowed up. At night I had the uſual variations, as pain in the ſtomach, ſick, ſleepy, and ravenous; and I had no thoughts but that I ſhould die before morning. Now came on a terrible griping in my bowels; then I heard my young maſter's terrible lamentations, that his mother was dead! And, ſoon after the ſailors cried, a ſail, a ſail, hallooing as if they were diſtracted, for joy of that relief, which we afterwards received from your hands.

Surely this is ſuch a diſtinct account of ſtarving to death, that I believe few ever met with the like: But to return to the diſpoſition of things among my people. I did not take any notice to them of the ſloop that I had framed, neither would I leave them the two pieces of braſs cannon, or the two quarter-deck guns that I had on board; leſt, upon any diſguſt, they ſhould have ſeparated, or turned pyrates, and ſo made the iſland a den of thieves, inſtead of a plantation of ſober pious people. But, without theſe things, leaving them in a flouriſhing condition, with a promiſe to ſend them further relief from *Braſil*, as ſheep, hogs, and cows (being obliged to kill the latter at ſea, having no hay to feed them) I went on board the ſhip again the firſt of *May*, 1605, having been twenty days among them; and the next morning giving them a ſalute of five guns at parting, we ſet ſail for the *Braſils*; but the third day, towards evening, there happening a calm, and yet being by a ſtrong current drove to the N. N. E. towards the land ſide, we perceived the ſea covered as it were with ſomething very black, not eaſily to be diſcovered at firſt: Upon which, our chief mate aſcending the ſhrouds a little way, and taking a view with a perſpective-glaſs, he cries out, It is an army. An army, you fool! ſaid I, What do you mean? Nay, Sir, ſaid he, don't be angry; I aſſure you 'tis not only an army, but a fleet too; I believe there

are

are a thouſand canoes paddling along, and making haſte towards us too.

Indeed every one of us were ſurpriſed at this relation; and my nephew, the captain, could not tell what to think of it, but imagined we ſhould all be devoured. Nor was I free from concern, when I conſidered how much we were becalmed, and what a ſtrong current ſet towards the ſhore: However, I encouraged him not to be afraid, but bring the ſhip to an anchor, as ſoon as we were certain that we muſt engage them. We accordingly did ſo, and furled all our ſails: As to the ſavages, we feared nothing but their ſetting the ſhip on fire; to prevent which, I ordered them to get their boats out, and faſten them, one cloſe by the head and the other by the ſtern, well manned, with ſheets and buckets to extinguiſh the flames, ſhould it ſo happen. But when the ſavages came up, they were a horrid ſight indeed, but there were not ſo many as the mate had ſaid; for, inſtead of a thouſand canoes, there were about one hundred and twenty, though indeed they were too many, ſeveral of theſe canoes containing above ſixteen or ſeventeen men.

As they approached near us, they ſeemed to be in the greateſt amazement, and not knowing what to make of us, they rowed round the ſhip, which occaſioned us to call to the men in the boats, not to ſuffer them to come near them. Hereupon they beckoned to the ſavages to keep back, which they accordingly did; but, at their retreat, they let fly about 50 arrows among us, and very much wounded one of our men in the long-boat. I called to them not to fire upon any account, but handing them down ſome deal boards, the carpenters made them a kind of fence to ſhield them from the arrows. In half an hour after, they came ſo near a-ſtern of us, that we had a perfect ſight of them; then they rowed a little farther out, till they came directly broad ſide with us, and then approached ſo near as they could hear us ſpeak. This made me order

all

all our men to keep cloſe, and get their guns ready; in the mean time I ordered *Friday* to go out upon deck, and aſk them in his language what they meant. No ſooner did he ſo, but ſix of the ſavages, who were in the foremoſt canoe, ſtooping down, ſhewed us their naked backſides, as much as to ſay in *Engliſh*, kiſs our ------; but *Friday* quickly knew what this meant, by immediately crying out they were going to ſhoot, unfortunately for him poor creature! who fell under a cloud of three hundred arrows, no leſs than ſeven piercing thro' his body, killing one of the beſt of ſervants, and faithfuleſt of companions in all my ſolitudes and afflictions.

So enraged was I at the death of poor *Friday*, that I ordered the guns, which were charged before only with powder to frighten them, to be loaded with ſmall ſhot; nor did the gunners fail in their aim, but, at this broad-ſide, ſplit and overſet thirteen or fourteen of their canoes, no doubt killed ſeveral of them, and ſet the reſt a ſwimming: The others, frightened out of their wits, little regarding their fellows a drowning, ſcoured away as faſt as they could; but our men took up one poor wretch, ſwimming for his life, an hour after. He was ſo ſullen at firſt, that he would neither eat nor ſpeak; but I took a way to cure him, by ordering them to throw him into the ſea, which they did, and then he came ſwimming to them like a cork; calling, in his tongue, I ſuppoſe, to ſave him. So we took him on board, but it was a long time before we could make him ſpeak or underſtand *Engliſh*; yet, when we taught him, he told us, they were going with their kings to fight a great battle: And when we aſked him what made them come up to us? He ſaid, *To makee de great wonder look*. By which it is to be noted, that theſe natives, and thoſe of *Africa*, always add two E's at the end of *Engliſh* words, as *makee takee*, and the like, which it is a very difficult thing to break them of.

And

l now being under ſail, I cannot but take my laſt
el of poor honeſt *Friday!* And indeed we in-
l him with all poſſible decency and ſolemnity,
itting him into a coffin, and committing him to
eep, at the ſame time cauſing eleven guns to be
for him: And thus ended the life of one of the
grateful, faithful, honeſt, and affectionate ſer-
, that ever any man was bleſt with in the world.
ıving now a fair wind for *Braſil*, in about twelve
time, we made land in the latitude of five de-
ſouth of the line. Four days we kept on S. by
ı ſight of the ſhore, when we made Cape *St. Au-*
ıe, and, in three days, we came to an anchor
ıe Bay of *All Saints*. But it was with great diffi-
I obtained leave to hold correſpondence here
ıore; for neither the figure of my partner, my
merchant truſtees, nor the fame of my wonder-
reſervation in the iſland, could procure me that
ır, till ſuch time as the Prior of the monaſtery of
Auguſtines (to whom I had given 500 moidores)
ned leave from the Governor for me perſonally,
the captain, and one more, together with eight
:s, to come on ſhore, and, upon this condition,
we ſhould not land any goods out of the ſhip, or
any perſon away without licence: But, howe-
with difficulty, I got on ſhore three bales of
iſh goods, as fine broad cloth, ſtuffs, and ſome
ı, which I brought as a preſent for my partner,
had ſent me on board a preſent of freſh provi-
, wine, and ſweet-meats, worth above thirty
ores, including ſome tobacco, and three or four
gold medals.

nd now I delivered my partner, in goods, to the
: of 1001. *ſterling*, and obliged him to ſet up the
ı I brought for the uſe of my iſland, in order to
them refreſhments: Nor did he fail in this,
ıad the veſſel finiſhed in a few days, to the maſter
hich I gave particular inſtructions to find the
:. I ſoon loaded him with a ſmall cargo, and one

of my ſailors offered to ſettle there, upon my letter to the *Spaniſh* Governor, if I would allot him tools and a plantation. This I willingly granted, and gave him the ſavage we had taken priſoner to be his ſlave. All things being ready for the voyage, my old partner told me, there was an acquaintance of his, a *Braſil* planter, who, having fallen under the diſpleaſure of the church, and in the fear of the inquiſition, which obliged him to be concealed, would be glad of ſuch an opportunity to make his eſcape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would allot them a plantation in my iſland, he would give them a ſmall ſtock to begin with, for that the officers had already ſeized his effects and eſtate, and left him nothing but a little houſhold-ſtuff and two ſlaves. This requeſt I preſently granted, concealing him and his family on board our ſhip, till ſuch time as the ſloop (where all the effects were) was got out of the bay, and then we put them on board, who carried them ſome materials and plants for planting ſugar-canes along with them. By this ſloop, among other things I ſent my ſubjects three milch cows, and five calves, about 22 hogs, three ſows big with pig, two mares and a ſtallion. I alſo engaged three *Portugueze* women to go for the ſake of the *Spaniards*, which, with the perſecuted man's two daughters, were ſufficient, ſince the reſt had wives of their own, though in another country: All which cargo arrived ſafe, no doubt, to their exceeding comfort; who, with this addition, were about ſixty or ſeventy people, beſides children.

Here it was that my truly honeſt and pious clergyman left me; for a ſhip being ready to ſet ſail for *Liſbon*, he aſked me leave to go thither; but I aſſure you it was with the greateſt reluctance I parted from ſuch a perſon, whoſe virtue and piety merited the greateſt eſteem.

When we ſailed from the *Braſils*, we made directly over the *Atlantic* ocean to the *Cape of Good Hope*, having a tolerable good voyage, ſteering for the moſt

part

part S. E. We were on a trading voyage, and had a ſupercargo on board, who was to direct all the ſhip's motions after ſhe arrived at the Cape; only being limited to a certain number of days for ſtay by charter party, at the ſeveral ports ſhe was to go to; but all this belonged to my nephew the captain, and the ſupercargo, and was none of my buſineſs. At the Cape we only took in freſh water, and then ſailed for the coaſt of *Coromandel*, being informed that a *French* man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ſhips were ſailed for the *Indies*, but we heard no more of them.

The firſt place we touched at was the iſland of *Madagaſcar*; where, though the inhabitants are naturally fierce and treacherous, formidably armed with bows and launces; yet, for ſome time, they treated us civilly enough; and, in exchange of knives, ſciſſars, and other trifles, they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, which we took partly for preſent freſh victuals, and the remainder to ſalt for the ſhip's uſe.

So curious was I to view every corner of the world where I came to, that I went on ſhore as often as I could; when one evening, numbers of the people ſtood gazing at us at a diſtance, yet we thought ourſelves in no danger, becauſe they had uſed us kindly. However, we cut three boughs out of a tree, ſticking them at a diſtance from us, which, it ſeems, in that country, is not only a token of truce and amity, but, when poles or boughs are ſet up on the other ſide, it is a ſign the truce is accepted: Yet there is one thing to be regarded, that neither party muſt come beyond one another's three poles or boughs; ſo that the middle ſpace is not only ſecure, but is alſo allowed like a market for traffick and commerce. They ſtick up their launces and javelins at the firſt poles, and come on unarmed; but, if any violence is offered, away they run to their poles, take up their weapons, and then the truce is at an end. One evening it happened, when we went on ſhore

greater number of people than uſual, both men and women, honeſtly traded among us for ſuch toys as we had, with ſuch great civility, that we made us a little tent of large boughs of trees, ſome of the men reſolving to lie on ſhore all night. But, for my part, I and ſome others took our lodging in the boat, with boughs of trees ſpread over it, having a ſail ſpread at the bottom to lie upon; when, about two o'clock in the morning, we heard the firing of five muſkets, as alſo our men crying out for help, or elſe they ſhould all be murdered: Nor ſcarce had we time to get the boat aſhore, but that our men came and plunged themſelves into the water, having above four hundred men at their heels: We took up ſeven of the men, three of them very much wounded, and one left behind killed, while the enemy poured their arrows ſo thick among us, that we were forced to make a barricade, with boards lying at the ſide of the boat, to ſhield us from danger: And having got ready our fire-arms, we returned them a volley, which no doubt wounded ſeveral of them, as we could hear by their cries. In this condition we lay till break of day, and then, making ſignals of diſtreſs to the ſhip, which my nephew, the captain, heard and underſtood, he weighed anchor, and ſtood as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then ſent another boat with 10 hands in her to aſſiſt us; but we called to them not to come near, informing them of our unhappy condition: However they ventured, when one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and our adverſaries, ſwam on board us, and made faſt the line to our boat; upon this, ſlipping our cables, they towed us out of the reach of their arrows, and quickly after a broadſide was given them from the ſhip, which made a moſt dreadful havock among them. But when we had got on board, and examined into the occaſion of this fray, the men who fled informed us, that an old woman, who ſold milk within the poles, had brought a young woman

with

with her, who carried roots or herbs; the ſight of whom ſo much tempted our men, that they offered rudeneſs to the maid, at which the old woman ſet up a great cry; nor would the ſailors part from their prize, but carried her among the trees, while the old woman went and brought a whole army down upon them. At the beginning of the attack one of our men was killed with a lance, and the fellow who began the miſchief, paid dear enough for his miſtreſs, though as yet we did not know what became of him, but the reſt got free. The third night after the action, being curious to underſtand how affairs ſtood, I took the ſupercargo, and twenty ſtout fellows with me, and landed about two hours before midnight, at the ſame place where thoſe *Indians* ſtood the night before; and there we divided our men into two bodies, the boatſwain commanding one, and I the other. It was ſo dark, that we could ſee nobody; neither did we hear any voice near us: but by and by the boatſwain falling over a dead body, we conſented to halt till the moon began to riſe, which we knew would be in an hour after; and then we perceived two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Satisfied with this diſcovery, I was going on board again; but the boatſwain, and the reſt, told me, they would make a viſit to the *Indian* town, where thoſe dogs, ſo they called them, reſided, aſking me at the ſame time to go along with them; that they did not doubt, beſides getting a good booty, but they ſhould find *Tom Jeffery* there, for that was the unhappy man we miſſed. But I utterly refuſed to go, and commanded them back, as being unwilling to hazard their lives, the ſafety of the ſhip, wholly depending upon them. Upon which, in ſhort, they all left me but one, and the ſupercargo: So we returned to the boat where a boy was left, telling them we would ſtay for thoſe that returned, tho' we ſuppoſed that moſt of them would run the ſame fate of *Tom Jeffery*. To this they replied, *Come boys, come along, we'll warrant we'll come*

off ſafe enough; and ſo away they went, notwithſtanding all my admonitions, either concerning their own ſafety, or the preſervation of the ſhip. Indeed they were gallantly armed, every man having a muſket, bayonet, and a piſtol, beſides cutlaſſes, hangers, pole-axes, and hand-granadoes. They came to a few *Indian* houſes at firſt; but, not being the town they expected, they went farther, and finding a cow tied to a tree, they concluded that would be a ſufficient guide to them, and ſo it proved; for after they untied her, ſhe led them directly to the town, which conſiſted of above two hundred houſes, ſeveral families living in ſome of the huts together. Here, being all in a profound ſleep, the ſailors conſulted to divide themſelves into three bodies, and ſet three parts of the town on fire at once; to kill thoſe that were eſcaping, and plunder the reſt of the houſes. Thus deſperately reſolved, they went to work; but the firſt party had not gone far, before they called out to the reſt, that they had found *Tom Jeffery*; whereupon they all ran up to the place, and found the poor fellow indeed, hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat almoſt cut from ear to ear: In a houſe that was hard by the tree, they found 16 or 17 *Indians* who had been concerned in the fray, two or three of them being wounded, who were not gone to ſleep; this houſe they ſet on fire firſt, and quickly, five or ſix places more in the town appeared in flames, which they occaſioned by wild-fire, as the fitteſt to burn their thatches, conſiſting of flags or ruſhes: and no ſooner did the affrighted creatures run out to ſave their lives, but they were either driven back into the flames by the ſailors, or killed without mercy. After the boatſwain had ſlain two with his pole-ax, he threw a hand-granado into the houſe, which, ſoon burſting, made a terrible havock, killing and wounding moſt of them; and neither their king, nor any of his train, who were in that houſe, eſcaped their fury, but they were every creature ſmothered and burnt together. All this

while

while they never fired a gun, leſt the people ſhould waken faſter than they could overpower them. But they awaked faſt enough, which obliged our fellows to keep together in bodies. And by this time the whole town was in a flame, yet their fury rather encreaſed, calling out to one another to remember *Tom Jeffery*. The terrible light of this conflagration made me very uneaſy, and rouzed my nephew the captain, and the reſt of his men, not knowing any thing of the matter. But when he perceived the dreadful ſmoke aſcending in the clouds, and heard the guns go off, which made him conclude his men in danger, he takes another boat, and comes on ſhore himſelf with 13 men well armed: Nor was he leſs ſurpriſed to ſee me and two men only in the boat; but though I argued with him, as I did with his men, about the danger of the voyage, the intereſt of the merchants and owners, and the ſafety of the ſhip; yet my nephew was like the reſt, declaring, that he would rather loſe the ſhip his voyage, his life and all, than his men ſhould be loſt for want of help; and ſo away he went. For my part, ſeeing him reſolved to go, I had not power to ſtay behind him: He ordered the pinnace back again for twelve men more; and then we marched directly as the flame guarded us. But ſurely never was ſuch a ſcene of horror beheld, nor more diſmal cries heard before, except at the time of that vile traytor and uſurper *Oliver Cromwell*'s taking *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, where he neither ſpared man, woman or child.

The firſt object, I think, we met with, was the ruins of one of their habitations, before which lay four men and three women killed, and two burnt to death among the fire, which was now decaying. Nothing could appear more barbarous than this revenge; none more cruel than the authors of it. As we went on the fire increaſed, and the cry proceeded in proportion: Nor had we gone much farther, but we beheld three naked women, followed by ſixteen or ſeventeen men, flying with the greateſt ſwiftneſs

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from our men, who ſhot one of them in our ſight: When they perceived us, whom they ſuppoſed would be their murderers, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, and two ſwooned away in the fright. Here was ſuch a ſight, as might ſurely ſoften the hardeſt heart; and in pity, we took means to let them know we would not hurt them; while the poor creatures, with bended knees and lift up hands, made piteous lamentations to us to ſave their lives. I ordered our men not to hurt any of the poor creatures whatſoever; but, being willing to underſtand the occaſion of all this, I went among theſe unhappy wretches, who neither underſtood me, nor I believe the meaning themſelves. Hereupon, being reſolved to go into the middle of the town through the fire, in order to put an end to this barbarity, I ordered the men to follow me; but I had ſcarce ſpoke the word before the boatſwain came up, with four of our men at his heels, covered with blood and duſt, ſeeking more people to maſſacre; upon which, calling out to them, we made them underſtand who we were, and they came up to us, ſetting up a halloo of triumph, in token that more help was come. Noble captain, ſaid he to my nephew, I'm glad you're come; we have not half done with theſe villainous hell-hound dogs, we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth, and kill more than poor *Tom* has hairs upon his head: And thus he went on till I interrupted him. Blood thirſty dog! ſaid I, will your cruelty never end? I charge you touch not one creature more; ſtop your hands and ſtand ſtill, or you're a dead man this moment. Why, Sir, ſaid he, you neither know who you are protecting, or what they have done; but pray come hither, and behold an object of compaſſion, if ſuch can merit your clemency; and with that he ſhewed me the poor fellow, with his throat cut, hanging upon the tree.

Indeed here was enough to fill their breaſts with rage, which however I thought had gone too far, agreeable to theſe words of *Jacob* to his ſons *Simeon*

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and *Levi : Curſed be their anger for it was fierce*, and *their wrath, for it was cruel.* But this ſight made my nephew and the reſt as bad as they; nay, my nephew declared, his concern was only for his men; as for the people, not a ſoul of them ought to live. Hereupon away ran the boatſwain and eight more to finiſh the tragedy; which being out of my power to prevent, I penſively returned back, both from the diſmal ſight, and the piteous cries of thoſe unfortunate creatures, who were made victims to their fury. Nor was it a leſs piece of folly in me to return to the boat with a few others, having narrowly eſcaped forty armed *Indians*, who had been alarmed by the conflagration; but, having miſſed the place where they ſtood, I got to the boat, accompanied with the ſupercargo, and ſo went on board, ſending the pinnace back again, to aſſiſt the men in what might happen. When I had got to the boat, the fire was almoſt extinguiſhed, and the noiſe abated; but I had ſcarce been half an hour on board the ſhip, when I heard another volley given by our ſailors, and a great ſmoak, which, as I afterwards found, was our men falling upon thoſe houſes and perſons that ſtood between them and the ſea; but here they ſpared the wives and children, and killed about ſixteen or ſeventeen men. And ſo they came ſtrolling down to the pinnace, which, at that time was gotten on ſhore to receive them. Not a man of them had received the leaſt hurt, except two, one of whom ſtrained his foot, and the other burnt his hand a little, having met with no reſiſtance, the poor *Indians* being unprepared, amazed and confounded.

Inded I was extremely angry with every one of them, but particularly the captain; who, inſtead of cooling the rage of the men, had prompted them on to farther miſchief: Nor could he make any other excuſe, but that, as he was a man, he could not maſter his paſſions, at the ſight of one of his men ſo cruelly murdered. As for the reſt, knowing they were not under

under my command, they took no notice of my anger, but rather boaſted of their revenge; and, according to all their accounts, they killed or deſtroyed about 150 men, women and children, beſides burning the town to aſhes. They took their companion *Tom Jeffery* from the tree, covered him with ſome of the ruins, and ſo left him. But, however juſtifiable this action of our men might ſeem to themſelves, yet I always openly condemned it, with the appellation of the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*: For though they had ſlain this *Jeffery*, yet he was certainly the firſt aggreſſor, by attempting to violate the chaſtity of a young innocent woman, who ventured down to them on the faith of the public capitulation, which was ſo treacherouſly broken.

We were now under ſail, when the boatſwain would defend this bloody action, by ſaying, That the *Indians* had broke the truce, the night before, by ſhooting one of our men without juſt provocation: And what if the poor fellow had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered in ſo villainous a manner; and that they had acted nothing but what the divine laws commiſſioned to be done to ſuch homicides. However, I was in the ſame mind as before, telling them that they were murderers, and bid him depend upon it, that God would blaſt their voyage for ſo unparralleled a piece of barbarity.

When we came into the gulph of *Perſia*, five of our men, who ventured on ſhore, were either killed, or made ſlaves by the *Arabians*, the reſt of them having ſcarce time to eſcape to their boat. This made me upbraid them afreſh with the juſt retribution of heaven for ſuch actions: Upon which the boatſwain very warmly aſked me, wether thoſe men on whom the tower of *Siloam* fell, where greater ſinners than the reſt of the *Galileans*? And beſides, Sir, ſaid he, none of theſe five poor men that are loſt, were with us at the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*, as you call it, and there-

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fore your reprehenſion is very unjuſt, and your application improperly applied. Beſides, added he, you are continually uſing the men very ill upon this account, and being but a paſſenger yourſelf, we are not obliged to bear it; nor can we tell what ill deſigns you may have to bring us to judgment for it in *England*; and therefore if you don't leave this diſcourſe, and not concern yourſelf with any of our affairs, I will leave the ſhip, and not ſail in ſuch dangerous company.

All this I heard very patiently, till at length I told him what concern I had on board was none of his buſineſs; that, however, I was a conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and therefore had a right to ſpeak in common, and that I was no way accountable to him, nor to any body elſe. Well, this paſt on, and I thought all had been over. At this time we were in the road of *Bengal*; where, going on ſhore with the ſupercargo one day, in the evening, as I was preparing to go on board, one of the men came to me, and told me, I need not trouble myſelf to come to the boat, for that the cockſwain and others had ordered him not to carry me on board any more. This inſolent meſſage much ſurprized me, yet I gave him no anſwer to it, but went directly, and acquainted the ſupercargo, entreating him to go on board, and, by acquainting the captain with it, prevent the mutiny which I perceived would happen. But, before I had ſpoke this, the matter was effected on board: For, no ſooner was I gone off in the boat, but the boatſwain, gunner, carpenter, and all the inferior officers, came to the quarter-deck, deſiring to ſpeak with the captain; and there it was the boatſwain made a long harangue, exclaiming againſt me as before-mentioned; that if I had not gone peaceably for my own diverſion, they would have compelled me by violence for their ſatisfaction; that, as they had ſhipped with the captain, ſo they would faithfully ſerve him; but, if I did not quit the ſhip, or the captain oblige me to it, they would leave

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the ſhip immediately: Hereupon, turning his face about by way of ſignal, they all cried out, One and All, One and All.

You may be ſure, that though my nephew was a man of great courage, yet he could not but be ſurpriſed at their ſudden and unexpected behaviour: And, though he talked ſtoutly to them, and afterwards expoſtulated with them, that, in common juſtice to me, who was a conſiderable owner in the ſhip, they could not turn me as it were out of my own houſe, which might bring their lives in danger ſhould they ever be taken in *England:* Nay, though he invited the boatſwain on ſhore to accommodate matters with me, yet all this, I ſay, ſignified nothing: they would have nothing to do with me; and they were reſolved to go on ſhore if I came on board. Well, ſaid my nephew, if you are ſo reſolved, permit me to talk with him, and then I have done: And ſo he came to me, giving me an account of their reſolution, how one and all deſigned to forſake the ſhip if I came on board, for which he was mightily concerned. I am very glad to ſee you, nephew, ſaid I, and rejoice it is no worſe, ſince they have not rebelled againſt you: I only deſire you to ſend my neceſſary things on ſhore, with a ſufficient ſum of money, and I will find my way to *England* as well as I can. Though this grieved my nephew to the heart, yet there was no remedy but compliance; and, in ſhort, going on board, all my neceſſaries were ſent me, and ſo this matter was over in a few hours.

I think I was now near a thouſand leagues farther off *England* by ſea, than at my little kingdom, except this difference, that I might travel by land over the *Great Mogul*'s country to *Suratt*, from thence up to *Baſora* by ſea up the *Perſian* gulph, then take the way of the caravans over the *Arabian* deſert to *Aleppo* and *Scandaroon*, there take ſhipping to *Italy*, and ſo travel by land into *France*, and from thence croſs the ſea to *England*.

My

my nephew left me two perſons to attend me, one of them was his ſervant, and the other clerk to the purſer, who engaged to be mine. I took lodgings in an *Engliſh* woman's houſe, where ſeveral *French*, one *Engliſh*, and two *Italian* merchants reſided. The handſome entertainment I met with here, occaſioned me to ſtay nine months, conſidering what courſe I ſhould take. I had ſome *Engliſh* goods with me of great value, beſides 1000 pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if there was occaſion. The goods I ſoon diſpoſed of to advantage, and bought here ſeveral good diamonds, which I could eaſily carry about me. One morning the *Engliſh* merchant came to me, and, being very intimate together, countryman, ſaid he, I have a project to communicate to you, which I hope will ſuit to both our advantage. To be ſhort, Sir, we are both in a remote part of the world from our country; but yet in a place where men of buſineſs may get a great deal of money. Now if you will put a thouſand pounds to my thouſand pounds we will hire a ſhip to our ſatisfaction; you ſhall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to *China*; for why ſhould we lie ſtill like drones, when all the world is in continual motion?

This propoſal ſoon got my conſent, being very agreeable to my rambling genius; and the more ſo, becauſe I looked upon my countryman to be a very ſincere perſon: It required ſome time before we could get a veſſel to our minds, and ſailors to man it accordingly: At length, we got an *Engliſh* mate, boatſwain and gunner, a *Dutch* carpenter, and 3 *Portugueze* foremaſt-men, and, for want of others, made ſhift with *Indian* ſeamen. From hence we firſt ſailed to *Achin*, in the iſland of *Sumatra*, and then to *Siam*, where we bartered our wares for ſome arrack and opium, the laſt of which bore a great price among the *Chineſe*: In a word, we went up to *Suſkan*, making a very great voyage; and, after eight months time, I

returned to *Bengal*, very well ſatisfied with this adventure, having not only gotten a ſufficient ſum of money, but an inſight of getting a great deal more.

The next voyage my friend propoſed to me, was to go among the ſpice iſlands, and bring home a load of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts; iſlands belonging partly to *Spain*, but yet places where the *Dutch* trade very much. We were not long preparing for this voyage, which we made no leſs ſucceſsful than the laſt, touching at *Porneo*, and ſeveral other places which I do not perfectly remember, returning home in about five months time. We ſoon ſold our ſpices, which were chiefly cloves, and ſome nutmegs, to a *Perſian* merchant, who carried them away for the gulph; and in ſhort, making five to one advantage, we were loaded with money.

Not long after my friend and I had made up our accounts, to our entire ſatisfaction, there came in a *Dutch* coaſter from *Batavia*, of above two hundred ton. All the men pretended themſelves ſo ill, that there were not hands ſufficient to undertake a voyage, and the captain being, forſooth, willing to go to *Europe*, public notice was given that the ſhip was to be ſold. No ſooner did this come to our ears, but we bought the ſhip, paid the maſter, and took poſſeſſion. We would alſo very willingly have entertained ſome of the men; but they, having received their ſhare of the booty, were not to be found; being fled all together, to *Agra*, the city of the great *Mogul*'s reſidence; and from thence were to travel to *Surate*, and ſo by ſea to the *Perſian* gulph. And indeed they had reaſon to fly in this manner; for the truth of it was, the pretended captain, was the gunner only, and not the commander; that, having been a trading voyage, they were attacked on ſhore by the *Mallayans*, who killed three men and the captain; after whoſe death, the other eleven men, running away with the ſhip to the bay of *Bengal*, left the mate and five men more

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on ſhore, of whom you will hear in the ſequel.

Let them come by the ſhip how they will, we thought we bought it honeſtly; neither did we ſuſpect any thing of the matter, when the man ſhewed us a bill of ſale for the ſhip (undoubtedly forged) to one *Emanuel Cloſterſhoven*, which name he went by. And ſo, without any more to do, we picked up ſome *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſeamen, reſolving for another voyage for cloves among the *Phillipine* and *Molucca* iſlands; and, in ſhort, we continued thus five or ſix years, trading from port to port with extraordinary ſucceſs; and was now, in the ſeventh and laſt year, going in the ſhip with my partner to *China*, deſigning to touch at *Siam*, and buy ſome rice by the way. But in this voyage, contrary winds beat us up and down for a conſiderable time among the iſlands in the ſtraights of *Mallaga*; and no ſooner were we clear of theſe rugged ſeas, but we perceived our ſhip had ſprung a leak, which obliged us to put into the river *Cambodia*, which lies northward of the gulph, and goes up to *Siam*.

One day as I was on ſhore refreſhing myſelf, there comes an *Engliſhman* to me, who was a gunner's mate on board an *Engliſh Eaſt-India* ſhip, riding up the river, near the city of *Cambodia*. Sir, ſaid he, you may wonder at my buſineſs, having never ſeen me in your life; but though I am a ſtranger, I have ſomething to tell you that very nearly concerns you; and indeed, it is the imminent danger you are in has moved me to give you this timely notice. Danger! ſaid I, what danger? I know of none, except my ſhip being leaky, for which I deſign to have her run a-ground to-morrow morning. Sir, ſaid he, I hope you'll be better employed, when you ſhall hear what I have to ſay to you. You know the town of *Cambodia* is about 15 leagues up this river; and about three leagues on this ſide, there lie two *Dutch*, and three *Engliſh* ſhips; and would you venture here, without conſidering what ſtrength you had to engage them?

I knew not what he meant by this diſcourſe; and, turning ſhort upon him, Sir, ſaid I, I know no reaſon I have to be afraid either of any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhips; I am no interloper, and what buſineſs have they then with me? Well, Sir, ſaid the man, if you do think yourſelf ſecure, all I can ſay is, you muſt take your chance: However, I am very ſorry you are ſo deaf to good advice; but I aſſure you, if you don't put to ſea immediately, you will be attacked by five long-boats full of men, hanged yourſelf for a pyrate, if you are taken, and the particulars examined afterwards. I thought, Sir, added he, I might have met with a better reception for ſuch a ſingular piece of ſervice. Sir, ſaid I, I never was ungrateful to any man; but pray explain yourſelf, and I'll go on board this minute, whether the leak be ſtopped or no. Why, Sir, ſaid he, to be ſhort, becauſe time is precious, the matter is this: You know well enough that you were with the ſhip at *Sumatra*, where your captain was murdered by the *Mallayans*, with three of his ſailors, and that either you, or ſome who were on board you, ran away with the ſhip; and are ſince turned pyrates at ſea. Now, Sir, this is the ſum of what I had to ſay; and I can poſitively aſſure you, that if you be taken, you will be executed without much ceremony; for, undoubtedly, you cannot but be ſenſible what little law merchant-ſhips ſhew to pyrates, whenever they fall into their unmerciful hands. Sir, ſaid I, I thank you for your kind information, and though I am ſure no man could come more honeſtly by the ſhip than I have done; yet, ſatisfied with your honeſt intention, and knowing their deſigns, I'll be upon my defence. Prithee, Sir, ſaid the man, don't talk of being upon your defence; the beſt that you can make, is to be out of danger; and therefore, if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of your men, take the advantage, without fail, of putting out to ſea at high water; by which means, as you have a whole tide before you,

you

you will be gone too far out of their reach before they can come down; and ſo, by the tide (not reckoning the length) you will get two hours of them; and as they are only boats, conſequently they will not venture (eſpecially if the wind blows) to follow you far out to ſea.

I am mighty well ſatisfied, ſaid I, in this particular, and of your kindneſs, which merits my greateſt eſteem: Pray, Sir, what amends ſhall I make you? He replied, I know not what amends you are willing to make, becauſe you may have ſome doubts of its certainty; but, to convince you of the truth of what I ſay, I have one offer to make unto you. On board one of the *Engliſh* ſhips, I have nineteen months pay due to me; and this *Dutchman* that is with me, has 7 months pay due to him, which, if you will make good to us, we will go along with you. And ſhould you find nothing more in it, why then we will deſire no more; but when you are convinced that we have ſaved the ſhip, your life, and the lives of the men, we will leave the reſt to your generoſity.

So reaſonable did this every way appear, as to obtain my immediate conſent, and ſo we went on board immediately. As ſoon as we came on board, my partner calls joyfully out, That they had ſtopped the leak! Well, thank God, ſaid I, but pray let us weigh anchor immediately. Weigh! ſaid he, what is the meaning of this hurry? Pray, ſaid I, aſk no queſtions, but all hands to work without loſing a moment's time: Upon which, the captain was called in great haſte, who ordered the anchor to be got up immediately; and, though the tide was not quite down, yet being aſſiſted with a little land-breeze, we ſtood our to ſea: And then it was, that calling my partner into the cabin, I related the ſtory at large, which was confirmed, and more amplified by the two men I had brought on board. But ſcarce had we finiſhed our diſcourſe upon this head, but a ſailor came to the cabin-door, with a meſſage from the captain, that we were chaſed

by five ſloops full of armed men. Very well, ſaid I, it is plain now there is ſomething in it. And ſo, going upon deck, I told the men there was a deſign for ſeizing the ſhip, and conſequently executing us for pyrates; and aſked them, whether they would faithfully ſtand by us, and one another? To which they unanimouſly replied, that they would fight for us to the laſt drop of their blood. And when I aſked the captain which way he thought beſt for us to manage the battle; Sir, ſaid he, the only method is to keep them off with our great ſhot as long as we are able, and then have recourſe to our ſmall arms; and when both theſe fail us, then to retire to cloſe quarters, when perhaps the enemy, wanting materials, can neither break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us. In the mean time, the gunner was ordered to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the ſteerage, and to load them with muſket bullets and ſmall pieces of old iron; and thus, the deck being cleared, we were prepared for the engagement, ſtill keeping out to ſea. But yet the boats followed us with all the ſail they could make; and we could perceive the two foremoſt were *Engliſh*, which outſailed the reſt by two leagues, and which we found would come up with us: Hereupon we fired a gun without ball, intimating that they ſhould bring too, and we put out a flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley; but, finding them crouding after us, till they came within a ſhot, we took in our white, and hanging out the red flag, immediately fired at them with ball; and then we called to them with a ſpeaking trumpet, bidding them to keep off at their peril.

But all this ſignified nothing to them, who, depending upon the ſtrength that followed them, were reſolutely bent for miſchief: Hereupon I ordered them to bring the ſhip to, by which means, they lying upon our broad-ſide, we let fly at them at once, one of whom carried away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and obliged them not only to take down their ſail, but made

made them all run to the head of the boat to keep her from ſinking; and ſo ſhe lay by, having enough of it; and, in the mean time, we prepared to meet the foremoſt boat in the ſame manner. But, while we were doing this, one of the three hindermoſt boats made up to the relief of that which was diſabled, and took the men out of her. Hereupon we called again to parley with them, but, inſtead of an anſwer, one of the boats came cloſe under our ſtern; whereupon our gunner let fly his two chaſe-guns, but miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, and waving their caps, came on with fury; but, to repair his ſeeming diſgrace, ſoon got ready; and, firing the ſecond time, this ſhot, we could perceive, did a great deal of execution among the men; but, taking no notice of it, we wore ſhip again, bringing our quarter to bear upon them; when, firing three guns more, we found the boat a ſinking, and ſeveral men already in the ſea. Hereupon, immediately manning our pinnance, I gave orders to ſave ſome of the men from drowning, and inſtantly come on board, becauſe the reſt of their boats were approaching. They accordingly did ſo, and took up three of them, one of whom was almoſt paſt recovery; and then, crouding all the ſail we could, after our men came on board, we ſtood out farther to ſea, ſo that the other three boats gave over their chaſe, when they came up to the firſt two. And thus, delivered from imminent danger, we changed our courſe to the eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all *European* ſhips.

Being now at ſea, and enquiring more particularly of the two ſeamen the meaning of all this; the *Dutchman* led us into the ſecret of it at once. He told us, That the fellow who ſold us the ſhip was an errant thief, who had run away with her; that the captain was treacherouſly murdered on the coaſt of *Mallaca*, by the natives there, with three of his men; that he, the *Dutchman*, and four more, being obliged to have recourſe to the woods for their ſafety, at length eſcaped

by means of a *Dutch* ſhip in its way to *China*, which had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water: That, after this, he went to *Batavia*, where two of the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip (who had deſerted the reſt in their travels) arrived, and there gave an account, that the fellow, who ran away with the ſhip, had ſold her at *Bengal* to a ſet of pyrates, who went a cruiſing, and had already taken an *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* ſhips richly laden.

Now, though this was abſolutely falſe, yet concerning us directly, my partner truly ſaid, that our deliverance was to be eſteemed ſo much the more, by reaſon had we fallen into their hands, we could have expected nothing from them but immediate death, conſidering our accuſers would have been our judges: And therefore his opinion was, to return directly to *Bengal*, where, being known, we could prove how honeſtly we came by the ſhip, of whom we bought her, and the like; and where we were ſure of ſome juſtice, not to be hanged firſt, and judged afterwards. And indeed I was at firſt of my partner's opinion; but when I had more ſeriouſly conſidered of the matter, I told him, we ran a great hazard in attempting to return thither, being on the wrong ſide of the ſtraits of *Malacca*; and if, upon alarm given, we ſhould be taken by the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, or *Engliſh* elſewhere, our running away would be a ſufficient evidence to condemn ourſelves. This danger indeed ſtartled not only my partner, but all the ſhip's company; and ſo we changed our former reſolution to go to the coaſt of *Tonquin*, and ſo to that of *China*; where purſuing our firſt deſign as to trade, we might diſpoſe of the ſhip ſome way or other, and return in one of the country veſſels. This being generally agreed to, we ſteered away N. N. E. above 50 leagues off the uſual courſe to the eaſt, which put us to ſome inconveniences, as the winds blowing more ſteadily againſt us, made us more tedious in our voyage, and conſequently cauſed a more ſpeedy decay of our proviſion

viſion; and, what was ſtill worſe, we apprehended thoſe ſhips, from whoſe boats we had eſcaped, being bound for, and got to *China* before us, might have given freſh information, which might create another vigorous purſuit. And laſtly, when I conſidered I had never wronged or defrauded any perſon in my life, to be now purſued like a common thief, and, if taken, to be executed as ſuch, according to what they ſhould alledge; this thing grieved me to the higheſt degree (as it muſt all innocent men) and conſequently made me more deſirous of eſcaping from its infamous ſhame, than from death itſelf. It was very eaſy to read a ſad dejection in my countenance upon this occaſion: My mind was oppreſt like thoſe unhappy innocent perſons, who, being overpowered by blaſphemous and perjured evidences, wickedly reſolved to take away their lives, or ruin their reputation, have no other recourſe, in this world, to eaſe their unſpeakable ſorrow, but ſighs, and prayers, and tears. My partner ſeeing me ſo concerned, encouraged me as well as he could; and, after deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, told me he would either put in on the coaſt of *Cochinchina*, or elſe in the bay of *Tonquin*, and from thence go to *Macao*, a town once poſſeſſed by the *Portugueze*, and where there ſtill reſided many *European* families.

Well, to this place we ſteered our courſe, and early the next morning we came in ſight of the coaſt. But, conſidering on our paſt circumſtances, we reſolved to put into a ſmall river, whereby we could know, either over the land, or by the ſhip's pinnace, what veſſels were in any ports thereabouts: And indeed this happy ſtep was our certain deliverance; the next morning there came to the bay of *Tonquin* two *Dutch* ſhips, and a third without any colours ſpread; and, in the evening, two *Engliſh* ſhips ſteered the ſame courſe. The river where we were was but ſmall, within a few leagues of its limits northward: The country was wild and barbarous, and the people all thieves,

thieves, having no correſpondence with any other nation, dealing only in fiſh, oil, and ſuch groſs commodities. One barbarous cuſtom they have, that when any veſſel is unhappily ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they make the men their priſoners or ſlaves; ſo that when we coaſted north-eaſt, to the point of land which opens to the great bay of *Tonquin*, we found ourſelves ſurrounded by enemies both by ſea and land.

As the ſhip had been leakly before, we took the opportunity to cleanſe her in this place, and to ſtop up the places which let in the water. And when we had lightened her, and brought our guns, and other moveable things, to one ſide, we eſſayed to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom: But, upon ſecond conſideration, we cared not to let her lie on dry ground; neither indeed could we find a convenient place for it. The inhabitants, not uſed to ſuch a ſight, as to ſee a ſhip lie down on one ſide, and heel in towards ſhore, neither perceiving her men who were at work on her bottom, with ſtages and with boats on the off-ſide, they preſently imagined the ſhip had been caſt away, and ſo lay faſt on the ground. Agreeable to this ſuppoſition, they ſurrounded us with ten or twelve large boats, with a reſolution, undoubtedly, to plunder the ſhip, and to carry away thoſe they found alive, for ſlaves to their king. But when they perceived our men hard at work upon the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing, graving, and ſtopping it, it filled them with ſuch ſurprize, that they ſtood gazing as though they were confounded. Neither could we imagine what their deſign was; however, for fear of danger, we handed down arms and ammunition to thoſe at work, in order to defend themſelves; and indeed this precaution was abſolutely neceſſary; for, in a quarter of an hour after, the natives concluding it was really a ſhipwreck, and that we were ſaving our lives and goods, which they thought belonged to them, came down to our men, as though it had been

in

in a line of battle. Indeed we lay but in a very unfit poſture to fight; and, before the ſtages could be got down, or the men in the boat come on board as they were ordered, the *Cochineſes* were upon them, and two of their boats boarding our long-boat, they began to lay hold of our men as priſoners. The firſt they ſeized was a ſtout *Engliſh* ſailor, who never fired his muſket, like a fool, as I imagined, but laid it down in the boat; but he knew what he was doing, for, by main force, he dragged the Pagan out of the boat into ours by the two ears, and knocked his brains out againſt the boat's gunnel: A *Dutchman*, that was next him, ſnatches up the muſket, and knocked down five more with the but-end of it: However, this was doing very little to their number; but a ſtrange, unexpected accident, which rather merits laughter, than any thing elſe, gave our men a complete victory over them.

It ſeems the carpenter, who was preparing to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams where he caulked her, to ſtop the leaks, had gotten two kettles juſt let down in the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow and oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſe: The carpenter's man had a great iron ladle, with which he uſed to ſupply the workmen with hot ſtuff; and, as two of the enemies entered the boat where the fellow ſtood, he ſaluted them with a ladleful of the hot boiling liquor, that, being half naked, made them roar again, and jump into the ſea. Well done, *Jack*, ſays the carpenter, give them t'other doſe; and ſo, ſtepping forward himſelf, takes a mop, and dipping it into the pitch-pot, he and his man flung it ſo plentifully among them, as none eſcaped being ſcalded: Upon which they all made the beſt of their way, crying and howling in ſuch a frightful manner, that in all my adventures I never heard the like before. And, indeed, never was I better pleaſed with any conqueſt than I was with this, by reaſon there was ſo little

little bloodſhed, having an averſion to killing ſuch ſavage wretches (more than was neceſſary) knowing they came on errands which their laws and cuſtoms made them think were juſt and equitable. By this time, all things being in order, and the ſhip ſwimming, they found their miſtake, ſo they durſt not venture a ſecond attack. Thus ended our merry fight; and having got ſome rice, bread, roots, and ſixteen good hogs on board the day before, we ſet ſail, not daring to go into the bay of *Tonquin*, but ſteered N. E. towards the iſle of *Formoſa*, as though we would go to the *Manillas*, or the *Phillippine* iſlands, for fear of meeting with any *European* ſhips. When we anchored at the iſle of *Formoſa*, the inhabitants not only ſupplied us with proviſions and freſh water, but dealt very fairly and honeſtly with us in their bargains and agreements. From this place we ſteered north, keeping ſtill off the coaſt of *China*, till we were beyond all the ports where *European* veſſels uſually come; and at length, being come to the latitude of thirty degrees, we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould come at; and ſtanding for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portugueze* pilot on board, who offering his ſervice, we very gladly accepted him, and ſent the boat back again. And now, having the old man on board, I talked to him of going to *Nanquin*, the moſt northward part of the coaſt of *China*. What will you do there? ſaid he, ſmiling; I told him we would ſell our cargo, and purchaſe callicoes, raw and wrought ſilk, tea, &c. and ſo return the ſame way back. O, ſaid he, you had better put in at *Macao*, where you may buy china wares as cheap as at *Nanquin*, and ſell your opium at a greater advance. But, ſaid I, we are gentlemen as well as merchants, and deſign to ſee the great city of *Peking*, and the magnificent court of the Monarch of *China*. Why then, ſaid he, you ſhould go to *Ningpo*, where there is a navigable river that goes through the heart of that vaſt empire, two hundred and ſeventy leagues from

from the ſea, which croſſes all the rivers, paſſes conſiderable hills by the help of ſluices and gates, and goes even up to the city of *Pekin*, and you may go to *Nanquin*, if you pleaſe, and travel to *Pekin*, there is a *Dutch* ſhip juſt before bound that way. At the name of a *Dutch* or *Engliſh* ſhip I was ſtruck with confuſion, they being as great a terror to me in this veſſel, as an *Algerine* man of war is to them in the *Mediterranean*. The old man finding me troubled, Sir, ſaid he, I hope the *Dutch* are not now at war with your nation: No, ſaid I, but God knows what liberty they may take when out of the reach of the law. Why, ſays he, what occaſion is there for peaceable merchants to fear? for, believe me, they never meddle with any but PYRATES.

At the mentioning the word *Pyrates*, my countenance turned to ſcarlet, nor was it poſſible for me to conceal it from the old pilot, who taking notice of it, *Sir*, ſaid he, *take what courſe you pleaſe, I'll do you all the ſervice I can.* Signior, ſaid I, I am a little concerned at your mentioning *Pyrates*, I hope there are none in theſe ſeas; becauſe you ſee in what a weak condition we are to defend ourſelves. *O Sir*, ſaid he, *if that's all, don't be concerned; I don't remember one in theſe parts theſe fifteen years, except about a month ago, one was ſeen in the bay of* Siam; *but ſhe is gone to the ſouth; nor was ſhe built for a privateer, but was run away with by a pyrate captain, and ſome of his men, the right captain having been murdered by the* Mallayans.

What, ſaid I, (as though ignorant of what had happened) did they kill the captain? No, ſaid he, 'tis thought the *Mallayans* murdered him, but perhaps they might procure them to do it, and therefore deſerved hanging. They were lately diſcovered in the bay of *Siam*, in the river of *Cambodia*, by ſome *Dutchmen* who belonged to the ſhip, and had much ado to eſcape five boats that purſued them: But they have all given ſuch an exact deſcription of the ſhip, that wherever they find her, they will be ſure to know her;

and they have ſolemnly ſworn to give them no quarter, but to hang them every one at the yard arm, without formally bringing them to a court of juſtice.

Being ſenſible that, having the old man on board, he could not do me any miſchief, Well, Signior, ſaid I, 'tis for this very reaſon I would have you carry us up to *Nanquin*, where neither *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhips come: And I muſt tell you their captains are a parcel of raſh, proud, inſolent raſcals, that neither know what belongs to juſtice, nor how to behave themſelves as the laws of God and nature direct: Fellows that would prove murderers to puniſh robbers; and take upon them to adjudge innocent men to death, without any plain proof to confirm their guilt; but perhaps I may live to call them to account, in a place where they may learn how juſtice ſhould be executed. And ſo I told him the ſtory of buying the ſhip; and how we were ſaved by the means of two men: That the murder of the captain by the *Mallayans*, as alſo the running away with the ſhip, I believed to be true; but that we who bought it were turned pyrates, was a mere fiction, to cover their cowardice and fooliſh behaviour, when they attacked us; and the blood of thoſe men we killed in our own juſt defence lay at their door, who ſent them to attack us by ſurprize.

Sir, ſaid the old man amazed, *you have taken the right courſe to ſteer to the north; and, if I might adviſe you, I would have you ſell your ſhip in* China, *and buy another in that country; and I'll procure people to buy one and ſell the other.* Well, but Signior, ſaid I, if I ſell the ſhip in this manner, I may bring ſome innocent perſons into the ſame danger as I have gone through, perhaps worſe, even death itſelf, whereby I ſhould be as guilty of their murder as their villainous perſecutors. *That need not trouble you*, ſaid the old man, *I'll find a way to prevent that: For thoſe commanders you talk of, I know very well, and I will inform them rightly of the matter, as you have related; and I am perſuaded they will not only believe me, but act more*

cautiouſly

cautiouſly for the future. And will you deliver one meſſage from me to them? *Yes*, ſaid he, *if you will give it under your hand, that I may prove it is not my own invention.* Hereupon I wrote a large account of their attacking me in their long-boats, the pretended reaſon and unjuſt deſign of it; that they had done what they ought to be aſhamed of, and could not anſwer, at any tribunal in *England*. But this letter was written in vain, providence ordering things another way. We ſailed directly for *Nanquin*, and in about 13 days ſail came to an anchor at the ſouth-weſt point of the great gulph of that place, where we learned, that two *Dutch* ſhips were gone the length before us, and that we ſhould certainly fall into their hands. We were at a great loſs in this exigency, and would very gladly have been on ſhore almoſt any where: But our old pilot told me, that if I would ſail to the ſouthward about 42 leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where no *European* ſhips ever came, and where we might conſider what was further to be done. Accordingly we weighed anchor the next day, calling only twice on ſhore by the way to get freſh water. The country people very courteouſly ſold us roots, tea, rice, fowls, and other proviſion. After five days ſail, we came to the port, and landed with unſpeakable joy. We reſolved to diſpoſe of ourſelves and effects any way poſſible, rather than go on board that ill-fated veſſel again. For no ſtate can be more miſerable than a continual fear, which is a life of death, and a confounder of our underſtandings, that ſets the imagination at work to form a thouſand frightful things that may never happen. And indeed both my partner and I ſcarce ſlept a night without dreaming of halters, yard-arms, &c. of fighting and being taken, killing and being killed, nay, ſo violent were our apprehenſions, that we would bruiſe our hands and heads againſt the cabin, as though actually engaged. The ſtory of the *Dutch* cruelty at *Amboyna* often came into our waking thoughts; and, for my

part, I uſed to think my condition very bad, that after ſo many difficulties, and ſignal deliverances, I ſhould be hanged in my old age, and innocent too; but then religion would ſeem to reprehend me, as though the voice of it had ſaid, Conſider, O man! the ſins you have been formerly guilty of, which now thou art called to account for, to expiate with thy blood! And as to thy innocence, what art thou more than thy bleſſed redeemer, who ſuffered for thy offences, and to whoſe providence you ought to ſubmit, let what will happen! After this my natural courage would inſpire me to reſiſt to the laſt, and rather to die than be taken by booriſh raſcally *Dutchmen*, who had arts to torment beyond the cruelty of death.

But now, thanks to kind Heaven, being aſhore, our old pilot procured a lodging and a warehouſe: It was a little hut, with a large warehouſe adjoining, all built with canes, and palliſadoed round with large ones, to keep out the pilfering thieves, which are very numerous in that country: But the magiſtrates allowed us a little guard, beſides we employed a centry with a kind of halbert, for three-pence a day. The fair or mart had been over ſome time; however there remained in the river four junks and two *Japan* ſhips, the merchants of the latter being aſhore. In the firſt place, our old pilot brought us acquainted with three *Romiſh* miſſionaries, who were converting the *Chineſe* to Chriſtianity; two of them were reſerved, rigid and auſtere, applying themſelves to the work they came about with great earneſtneſs; but the third, a *Frenchman*, called Father *Simon*, was of a freer converſation, yet not a worſe Chriſtian than the other two, one of whom was a *Portugueze*, and the other a *Genoeſe*: But Father *Simon*, it ſeems, was appointed to go to *Pekin*, the reſidence of the Emperor of *China*, and only waited for another prieſt, who was ordered from *Macoa* to accompany him. We ſcarce met, but he was prompting me to go with him; Sir, ſaid he, I will ſhew you the glorious things of this mighty

mighty empire, and a city, the city of *Pekin*, far exceeding *London* or *Paris*, put them both together. One day particularly, being at dinner with him, I ſhewed ſome inclination to go, which made him preſs me the more, and my partner alſo, to gain our conſent: But father, ſaid my partner, what ſatisfaction can you have in our company, when you eſteem us heretics, conſequently objects not worth your regard? Oh, ſaid he, you may be as good Catholics in time, as thoſe I hope to convert. And ſo, ſaid he, we ſhall have you preaching to us all the way, inſtead of pleaſing us with a deſcription of the country. Sir, ſaid he, however our religion may be vilified, 'tis very certain it neither diveſts us of good manners or Chriſtian charity; and as we are gentlemen, as ſuch we may converſe, without making one another uneaſy.

But, to leave him awhile, let us conſider our ſhip and merchandize, that we had to diſpoſe of. There was but little buſineſs in the place where we were; and once I was reſolved to venture to ſail to the river *Kilam*, and ſo to the city of *Nanquin*; but Providence ordered it otherwiſe, by our old pilot's bringing a Jew merchant to us, to ſee what goods we had. He immediately bought our opium, for which he gave us a very good price in gold by weight, ſome wedges of which weighed above 10 or 11 ounces. It came into my head, that he might buy the ſhip too; and I ordered his interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſaid nothing then, but ſhrunk up his ſhoulders; yet in a few days after he came, accompanied by a miſſionary prieſt, who was his interpreter, with this propoſal, that as he had bought a great quantity of our goods, he had not money enough to purchaſe our ſhip; but, if I pleaſed, he would hire her, with all my men, to go to *Japan*, and ſend them with another loading to the *Philippine* iſlands, the freight of which he would willingly pay to us before; and at their return to

Japan, would buy the ſhip. Upon this we aſked the captain and his men, if they were willing to go to *Japan*; to which they unanimouſly agreed. While this was in agitation, the young man whom my nephew left to attend me, told me, that as I did not care to accept this proſpect of advantage, he would manage it for me as I pleaſed, and render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, which ſhould be wholly mine. Indeed I was very unwilling to part with him; but, as it might turn to his advantage, I diſcourſed my partner about it, who, of his own accord, gave him his ſhare of the veſſel, ſo that I could not do otherwiſe than give him mine; but, however, we let him have but the property of half of it, and preſerved a power, that when we met in *England*, if he had obtained ſucceſs, he ſhould account to us for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight, and the other ſhould be his own. Thus having taken a writing under his hand, away he ſailed to *Japan*, where the merchant dealt honeſtly by him, got him a licence to go on ſhore, ſent him loaded to the *Philippines* with their ſupercargo, came back again with *European* goods, cloves, and other ſpice; and, in ſhort, he got a great deal of money; nor would he ſell his ſhip, but traded on his own account, went back to the *Manillas*, where getting acquaintance he made his ſhip free, was then hired by the governor to go to *Acapulco* in *America*, on the *Mexican* coaſt, with a licence to travel to that great city; and this gained him immenſe treaſure, and finding means to get to *Jamaica*, he returned nine years after exceeding rich to *England*.

In parting with the ſhip it comes in courſe to conſider thoſe men who ſaved our lives in the river of *Cambodia*: And though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues, who thought to turn pyrates themſelves: yet we paid them what they at firſt demanded, and gave each a ſmall ſum of money, making the

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Engliſhman a gunner, and the *Dutchman* a boatſwain, with which they were very well contented.

We were now above 1000 leagues farther from home, than when at *Bengal*. All the comfort we could expect was, that there being another fair in a month's time, we might not only purchaſe all ſorts of the country manufactures, but very poſſibly find ſome *Chineſe* junks or veſſels from *Tonquin*, to be ſold, which would carry us and our goods wherever we pleaſed. Upon theſe hopes, we reſolved to continue; and to divert ourſelves, took ſeveral little journies into the country. Ten days we travelled to ſee the city of *Nanquin*, about lat. 30. N. which is regularly built, the ſtreets exactly ſtrait, croſſing each other in direct lines, which makes it ſhew to great advantage. At our return, we found the prieſt was come from *Macoa* that was to go with Father *Simon* to *Pekin*. That Father earneſtly ſolicited me to accompany him, and I referred him to my partner. In ſhort we both agreed to it, and prepared accordingly. Nor did we fail meeting with great advantage, as to finding the way, having the liberty to travail among the retinue of a Mandarin, who is a principal magiſtrate, and much reverenced by the people.

We were 25 days travelling through this miſerable country, infinitely populous, but as indifferently cultivated; but their pride is infinitely greater than their poverty, inſomuch that even their prieſts deride them. As we paſſed the houſe of one of their country gentlemen, two leagues off *Nanquin*, we had the honour to ride with the *Chineſe* ſquire about two miles. Never was Don *Quixote* ſo exactly imitated, never ſuch a compound of pomp and poverty ſeen before.

His habit, made of callico, was dirty, greaſy, and very proper for a *Merry Andrew*, with all its tawdry trappings, as hanging-ſleeves, taſſels, &c. but torn in every part: His veſt underneath it was no cleaner, but more greaſy. His horſe (worſe than *Roſinante*

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or the famous ſteed of the doughty *Hudibraſs*) was a poor, ſtarved, decrepid thing, that would not ſell for thirty ſhillings in *England*: And yet after this piece of beggarly pomp attended ten or twelve ſlaves, guarding him to his country ſeat. We ſtopt at a little village for refreſhment; and when we came by the country ſeat of this great man, we found him ſitting under a tree before his door, eating a meſs of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a bag filled with green pepper by him, and another plant like ginger, with a bit of lean mutton, all this put together was his worſhip's repaſt: But pray obſerve the ſloth and ſtate of the fool! Two women ſlaves brought his food; which being laid before him, two others appeared to perform their reſpective offices; one fed him with a ſpoon, while the other ſcraped off what fell upon his beard and veſt, and gave it to a particular favourite to eat. And thus we left the wretch, pleaſed with the conceit of our admiring his magnificence, which rather raiſed our ſcorn and deteſtation.

At laſt we arrived at the great city of *Pekin*, accompanied by two ſervants, and the old *Portugueze* pilot, whoſe charges we bore, and who was our interpreter. We had ſcarce been a week at *Pekin*, but he comes laughing to us, Ah, Signior *Ingliſe*, ſaid he, me ſometing tell you make your heart glad, but make me ſorry, for you bring me here, 25 days journey, and now you leave me, go back alone; and which ſhall I make my port after, widout the ſhip, widout de horſe, widout pecune, ſo he called money in his broken language. But, in ſhort, that there was a great caravan of *Muſcovite* and *Poliſh* merchants in the city, who were preparing to ſet out for *Muſcovy* by land within ſix weeks; and that he was certain we would take this opportunity, and conſequently that he muſt go home by himſelf. Indeed this news pleaſed us much: Are you certain of this, ſaid I? Yes, Sir, ſaid he, me ſure true. Then he told me, that having met an old acquaintance

quaintance, an *Armenian*, who was among them, and came laſt from *Aſtracan*, with a deſign to go to *Tonquin*, where he formerly knew him; but having altered his reſolution, was reſolved to go with the caravan to *Moſcow*, and ſo down the river *Wolga* to *Aſtracan*. Well, Signor, ſaid I, don't be diſcontented about your returning alone; for, if by this means I can find a paſſage to *England*, it will be your own fault if you return to *Macoa* at all. And ſo, conſulting with my partner what was beſt to be done, he referred it to me as I pleaſed, our affairs being ſo well ſettled at *Bengal*, that if we could vend the *China* ſilks we had purchaſed, he would conſent to go to *England*, and ſo return to *Bengal* in the company's ſhips. And thus we reſolved, that if our pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to *Moſcow* or *England*, and give him 170*l.* ſterl. Hereupon we called him, and told him the cauſe of his complaint ſhould be removed, if he would accompany us with the caravan, and therefore deſired to know his mind. At this he ſhook his head, *great long journey*, ſaid he, *me no pecune, carry me* Moſcow, *keep me dere.* But we ſoon diſpelled his concern, by telling him what we would give him here to lay out to the beſt advantage; and, as for his charges, we would pay them to *Moſcow* or to *England*, which he pleaſed, except the carriage of his goods. At this propoſal he was quite tranſported, ſaying, he would go with us all the world over. We then prepared for our journey: But, I think, it was near four months before all the merchants were ready.

In the mean time, my partner and the pilot went expreſs to the port were we firſt put in, to ſell what goods were left there, while I accompanied a *Chineſe* merchant to *Nanquin*, and there bought 29 pieces of damaſk, with about 300 more of other fine ſilks; and by the time my partner returned to *Pekin*, I had them all carried thither; ſo that our cargo amounted in goods only to about 4500*l.* ſterling, which, together

gether with tea, fine callicoes, nutmegs and cloves, loaded 18 camels for our ſhare, beſides what we rode upon, with two or three ſpare horſes, and two more loaded with proviſion. And indeed the company in general was very great, making about 400 horſe, and above 120 men, well armed and provided. We were of ſeveral nations, among the reſt were five *Scots* merchants living at *Moſcow*, well experienced in buſineſs.

We left *Pekin* the beginning of *February*, O. S. and in two days we paſſed through the gate of the great *China* wall, which was built as a fortification againſt the *Tartars*, being 100 miles long. We then entered a country not near ſo populous, chiefly under the power of plundering *Tartars*, ſeveral companies of whom we perceived, on poor ſtarved horſes, contemptible as themſelves, without order or diſcipline. One time our leader for the day permitted us to hunt. But what do you think we hunted? only a parcel of ſheep, which indeed exceeded any in the world for wildneſs and ſwiftneſs; but while we were purſuing this game, we met above forty *Tartars*, who no ſooner perceived us, but one of them blew a horn, at which there immediately appeared above forty or fifty more, at about a mile diſtant. Hereupon one of the *Scots* merchants (who knew their curſed ways) ordered us to advance towards them, and attack them immediately. As we advanced they let fly a volley of arrows, which happily fell a little ſhort of us: This made us halt a little, to return the compliment with bullets. And then it was, led up by the bold *Scot*, that we fired our piſtols in their faces, and drew our ſwords; but there was no occaſion, for they flew like timorous ſheep, and only three of them remained, beckoning the reſt to come up to them. But our brave leader galloped up to them, ſhot one dead, knocked another off his horſe, while the third ran away: And thus ended our battle with the *Tartars*.

We ſtill travelled a month more through the Emperor of *China*'s dominions; and at length coming to one

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of their towns (about a day and a half's journey from the city of *Naum*) I wanted to buy a camel: And the perſon I ſpoke to would have brought me one, but like a fool I muſt go along with him, which was about two miles from the village. My old pilot and I walked on foot, forſooth, for ſome variety; when coming to the place, where the camels were kept as in a park (guarded by *Chineſe* ſoldiers) we there agreed and bought one, which the *Chineſe* man that came with me led along the road. But we had not gone far before we were attacked by five *Tartars*, mounted on horſeback; two of whom ſeized the man, took the camel from him, and rode away; but the other three approached us, the firſt of which ſuddenly ſeizing me as I was drawing my ſword, the ſecond knocked me down, and ſtunned me; but my old truſty *Portugueze*, taking a piſtol out of his pocket, which I knew nothing of, and coming up to the fellow that ſtruck me, laid hold of him with one hand, pulling him off his horſe, and then ſhot him dead upon the ſpot: Then taking his ſcymetar, he ſtruck at the man that ſtopt us, but miſſing him, cut off one of his horſe's ears, the pain of which made him throw his rider to the ground, with himſelf upon him. The poor *Chineſe*, who had led the camel, ſeeing the *Tartar* down, runs to him, and ſeizing upon his pole-axe, wrenched it from his hands, and knocked out his brains. But there was another *Tartar* to deal with, who ſeeming neither to fight nor fly, my old man began to charge his piſtol; the very ſight of which ſtruck ſuch a terror in the wretch, that he ſcowered away, leaving my old pilot, rather my champion and defender, an abſolute victory.

It was by this time, being awakened from my ſleep, as I thought, I began to open my eyes, wondering where I was, quite forgetting all that was paſt: But when my ſenſes returned, feeling a great pain in my head, while the blood was running over my cloaths, I inſtantly jumped upon my feet graſping my ſword

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in my hand, with a reſolution to take revenge; yet no enemies appeared, except the dead *Tartar*, with his horſe ſtanding by him; but the old man ſeeing me recovered, whom he thought ſlain, ran towards me, and embraced me with the greateſt tenderneſs, at the ſame time examining into my wound; but being far from every body, we returned to the village, when the man demanded payment for his camel, which I refuſing, we brought the cauſe before a *Chineſe* judge, who acted with great impartiality. Having heard both ſides, he aſked the *Chineſe* man that went with me, whoſe ſervant he was? Sir, ſaid he, I am nobody's, but went with the ſtranger, at his requeſt: Why then, ſaid the judge, you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his ſervant is the ſame as being delivered to himſelf, and accordingly he muſt pay for it. Indeed the caſe was ſo fairly ſtated, that I had nothing to object to it, ſo, having paid for what I was robbed of, I ſent for another, but did not go myſelf to fetch it, for I had enough of that ſport before.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chineſe* empire, ſo fortified, as ſome tell you, that millions of *Tartars* cannot batter down the walls; by which certainly one might think one of our cannons would do more execution than all their legions.

But the Governor of that city, as we were within a day's march of it, having ſent meſſengers to every part of the road, to inform the travellers and caravans to halt till he had ſent a guard to protect them from the numerous bodies of *Tartars* that lately appeared about the city; this news put us into great conſternation, but, obeying the orders; within two days there came 200 ſoldiers from a *Chineſe* garriſon, and 300 more from *Naum:* Thus, being guarded both in the front and rear, with our own men on the ſides, we advanced boldly, thinking we were able to combat 10,000 *Mogul Tartars*, if they had appeared, but were forced to tell another ſtory next day.

For

for early next morning, marching from a little well-ſituated town called *Changu*, after having paſſed a river, and entered upon a deſert of above fifteen or ſixteen miles over, we ſoon beheld, by a cloud of duſt that was raiſed, that the enemy was approaching towards us. This ſight much diſpirited the *Chineſe*, which appeared ſo plainly, that my old pilot took notice of it, and called out, Signior *Ingleſe*, theſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; and I'm afraid, if the *Tartars* attack us, they will all run away. Why, Signior, ſaid I, what ſhall be done in this caſe? Done, ſays he, why let fifty of our men advance, and then flanking on each wing, encourage them, for I know they will fight well enough in company. Accordingly we took his advice, marching fifty to the right wing, and the ſame number to the left, and the reſt made a line of reſerve, leaving the laſt 200 men to guard the camels, or to aſſiſt us as occaſion required.

Thus prepared, a party of them came forward, viewing our poſture, and traverſing the ground on the front of our line: Hereupon we ordered the two wings to fire, and each of them to give a ſalvo with their ſhot, which accordingly was done. And this indeed put a ſtop to their proceeding; for ſoon after wheeling off to their left, and undoubtedly giving an account to their companions what reception they might expect, they gave over their enterprize.

When we came to the city of *Naum*, we retured the governor hearty thanks, and gave 100 crowns among the ſoldiers that guarded us. We reſted there but one day, and then proceeded on our travels, paſſing ſeveral great rivers and deſerts, till, on the 13th of *April*, we came to the frontiers of *Muſcovy*, the firſt town of which was called *Argun*.

This happy event, as I thought it, of coming into a chriſtian Country, made me congratulate the *Scots* merchant upon it: He ſmiled at that, telling me, not to rejoice too ſoon; for, ſaid he, except the *Ruſſian*

ſoldiers in garriſon, and a few inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the reſt of this country for above a thouſand miles, is inhabited by the moſt ignorant and barbarous Pagans.

We advanced from the river *Argun* by moderate journeys; and found convenient garriſons in the land filled with Chriſtian ſoldiers, for the ſecurity of commerce, and for the convenient lodging of travellers; but the inhabitants of the country were mere Pagans, worſhipping the ſun, moon and ſtars. And this idolatry we met near *Argun*, at a city of the *Tartars* and *Ruſſians* joined together, called *Nerifinkey*: For being curious to ſee their way of living, while the caravan continued to reſt themſelves in that city, I went to one of their villages, when there was to be one of their ſolemn ſacrifices. There behold upon the ſtump of an old tree, was placed an idol of wood, more ugly than the repreſentation of the devil himſelf; its head was ſuch as reſembled no living creature; its ears were as big and high as goats horns, a crooked noſe, four-cornered mouth, and horrible teeth: it was cloathed in ſheep-ſkins, had a great *Tartar* bonnet, with two horns growing through it, and was eight foot high, without feet, legs or proportion. Before this idol, there lay 16 or 17 people, who brought their offerings, and were making their prayers; while at a diſtance ſtood three men and one bullock, as victims to their ugly monſter.

Such ſtupendous ſacrilege as this, in robbing the true God of his honour, filled me with the greateſt aſtoniſhment and reflection; which ſoon turning to rage and fury, I rode up to to the image, and cut in pieces the bonnet that was upon his head with my ſword, ſo that it hung down by one of the horns; while one of my men that was with me, pulled at it by its ſheep-ſkin garment: But immediately an hideous howling and outcry ran through the village, and two or three hundred people coming about our ears, we were obliged to fly for it.

But

But I had not done with the monſter; for the caravan being to reſt three nights in the town, I told the *Scots* merchant what I had ſeen, and I was reſolved to take four or five men well armed with me, in order to deſtroy the idol, and ſhew the people how little reaſon they had to truſt to it, who could not ſave itſelf. At firſt he laughed at me, repreſenting the danger of it; and when it was deſtroyed, what time had we to preach to them better things, whoſe zeal and ignorance were in the higheſt degree, and both unparalelled; that if I ſhould be taken by them, I ſhould be ſerved like a poor *Ruſſian*, who contemned their worſhip; that is, be ſtripped naked, and tied to the top of the idol, there ſhot at with arrows till my body was full of them, and then burnt as a ſacrifice to the monſter: But, Sir, ſaid he, ſince your zeal carries you ſo far, rather than you ſhould be alone, I will accompany you, and bring a ſtout fellow, equal to yourſelf, if he will aſſiſt us in this deſign: And accordingly he brought one called Captain *Richardſon*, who hearing the ſtory, readily conſented; but my partner declined it, being altogether out of his way: And ſo we three, and my man ſervant, reſolved to execute this exploit about midnight; but upon ſecond thoughts we deferred it to the next night, by reaſon the caravan being to go from thence next morning, we ſhould be out of the governor's power. Well, I procured a *Tartar*'s ſheep-ſkin robe, a bonnet, with bows and arrows, and every one of us got the like habits. The firſt night we ſpent in mixing combuſtible matter with aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, &c. having a good quantity of tar in a little pot. And the laſt night coming to the idol about eleven o'clock, the moon being up, we found none guarding; but we perceived a light in the houſe, where we ſaw the prieſts before. One man was for firing the hut, another for killing the people, and a third for making them priſoners, while the idol was deſtroyed. And, in ſhort, to the latter we agreed; ſo that knocking at

the door, we ſeized the firſt that opened it, then ſtopping his mouth, and tying his feet together, left him with the idol. In this manner did we ſerve two others, but the valiant *Scots* merchant being diſcovered at length, ruſhed in upon them, being backed by us, and ſet fire to the compoſition, which frightened them ſo much, that we brought them all away, as priſoners to their wooden god. Then we fell to work with him, daubing him all over with tar, mixed with tallow and brimſtone, ſtopping his eyes, ears and mouth full of gunpowder, with a great piece of wild fire in his bonnet, and environed it with dry forage. All this being done, we unlooſened and ungagged the priſoners, and ſet the idol on fire, which the gunpowder blowing up, the ſhape of it was deformed, rent and ſplit, which the forage utterly conſumed; for we ſtayed to ſee its deſtruction, leſt the ignorant idolatrous people ſhould have thrown themſelves into the flame. And thus we came away undiſcovered, appearing ſo buſy in the morning among our fellow travellers, that nobody could have ſuſpected, but that we had been in our beds all night.

But after we were ſet out, and had got ſome ſmall diſtance from the city, there came a great multitude of the country people to the gates, demanding ſatisfaction of the *Ruſſian* Governor, for inſulting their prieſts, and burning their great *Cham Chi Thaungu*, who dwelt in the ſun, and that no mortal would violate his image, but ſome Chriſtian miſcreants: And therefore, being already 30,000 ſtrong, they denounced war againſt him and all his Chriſtians.

The Governor aſſured them he was ignorant of the matter, and that none of his garriſon had been out; that indeed there was a caravan that went away that morning, that he would ſend after them to inquire into it, and whoever were the offenders ſhould be delivered into their hands. This ſatisfied them for the preſent; but the Governor ſent to inform us, that if any of us had done it, we ſhould make our eſcape;

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or if not, make all the haſte away poſſible, while he kept them in play as long as he could. Hereupon we marched two days and two nights, ſtopping but very little, till at laſt we reſted at a village called *Plothus*, and haſted to *Jarawena*, another of the Czar's colonies. But on the ſecond day's march from the former, having entered the deſert, and paſſed the lake *Shaks-Oſer*, we beheld a numerous body of horſe on the other ſide of it to the north, who ſuppoſed we had paſſed that ſide of the lake: and in three days after, having found their miſtake, or been informed what way we went, they came upon us toward the duſk of the evening, juſt as we had pitched our camp between two little but very thick woods, with a little river running before our front, and we cut down ſome trees to place in our rear, but before we had finiſhed our ſituation, the enemy were at hand. But not falling on us immediately, they ſent three meſſengers, who demanded the men who had inſulted their prieſts, and burnt their god *Cham Chi Thaungu*, that they might be burnt, and then they would peaceably depart; but if not, they would deſtroy them all. Hereupon our men ſtared at one another, but nobody was the word, as indeed nobody knew it but he who did it. Upon which the leader of the caravan anſwered, that they were peaceable merchants, who meddled with none of their prieſts or gods; and therefore deſired them not to diſturb us, and put us to the neceſſity of defending ourſelves. But ſo far was this from ſatisfying them, that the next morning, coming to our right, they let fly a volley of arrows at us, but hurt not any, becauſe we ſheltered ourſelves under the baggage: But as we expected to come to an engagement, a cunning father, a *Coſſack*, obtaining leave of the leader to go to theſe people, mounts his horſe, and rides directly from our rear; when taking a circuit, he comes back as though he had been ſent expreſs; tells them a formal ſtory, that the vil-

lains who burnt the *Cham Chi Thaungu*, were gone to *Sibielſka*, with a reſolution to burn the god *Shal-Iſar*, belonging to the *Tongueſes*. Upon which, believing this cunning *Tartar*, who was ſervant to our *Muſcovites*, away they drove to *Sibeilſka*, and in leſs than three hours were out of ſight, nor did we ever hear of them more.

When we came to the city of *Jarawena*, we reſted there five days, and then entered into a frightful deſert, which held us twenty-three days march, infeſted with ſeveral ſmall companies of robbers or *Mogul Tartars*, who never had the courage to attack us. But after we had paſſed over this place, we found ſeveral *Tartars*: In particular the governor of *Adinſkoy* offered us a guard of fifty men to the next ſtation, if we apprehended any danger. All this way the natives retained the ſame Paganiſm and barbarity, only not ſo dangerous, being conquered by the *Muſcovites*. The cloathing, both of men and women, are the ſkins of beaſts, living under ground in vaults and caves, which run into one another. They have idols in almoſt every family; beſides they adore the ſun and ſtars, water and ſnow, and the leaſt uncommon thing that happens in the element, alarms them as much as thunder and lightning does the unbelieving *Jews*.

Through all the country nothing more remarkable occurred: When we had got through this great deſert I before mentioned, after two days farther travel, we came to *Junezay*, a *Muſcovite* city, on the great river ſo called, which, we are told, parts *Europe* from *Aſia*. Neither here are the Pagans much better, though intermixed with the *Muſcovites*; but the wonder will ceaſe, when I inform my reader of what was obſerved to me, that the Czar converts the *Tartars* with ſoldiers not clergymen, and is more aſſiduous to make them faithful ſubjects than good Chriſtians.

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From this city to the river *Oby*, we travelled over a pleaſant, fruitful, but very uncultivated country, for want of good management and people, and thoſe few are moſtly Pagans. This is the place where the *Muſcovite* criminals are baniſhed to, if they are not put to death. The next city we came to, was the capital city of *Siberia*, called *Tobelſki*, when having been almoſt ſeven months on our journey, and winter drawing on apace, my partner and I conſulted about our particular affairs, in what manner we ſhould diſpoſe of ourſelves. We had been told of ſledges and reindeer, to carry us over the ſnow in the winter ſeaſon, the ſnow being frozen very hard, making an entire covering to the ground, ſo that the ſledges can run upon the ſurface without any regard to what is beneath. But I, being bound to *England*, muſt either go with the caravan to *Jereſlaw*, thence weſt for *Narva*, and the gulph of *Finland*, and ſo by land or ſea to *Denmark*; or elſe I muſt leave the caravan at a little town on the *Dwina*, and ſo go to *Archangel*, where I was ſure of ſhipping either to *England*, *Holland* or *Hamburg*. One night I fell in company with an illuſtrious, but baniſhed prince, whoſe company and virtues were ſuch as made me propoſe a method to him to obtain his liberty. My dear friend, ſaid he, as I am free from my miſerable greatneſs, with all its attendants of pride, ambition, avarice and luxury; if I ſhould eſcape from this place, thoſe pernicious ſeeds may revive again, to my laſting diſquietude: Therefore let me ſtay in a bleſſed confinement. For I am but fleſh, a mere man, with paſſions and affections as ſuch: O be not my friend and tempter too! Struck dumb with ſurprize, I ſtood ſilent a while; nor was he in leſs diſorder, by which perceiving he wanted to give vent to his mind, I deſired him to conſider of it, and ſo withdrew. But about two hours after he came to my apartment, Dear friend, ſaid he, though I cannot conſent to accompany you, I

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ſhall have this ſatisfaction in parting, that you leave me an honeſt man ſtill; but as a teſtimony of my affection to you, be pleaſed to accept this preſent of ſables.

I ſent my ſervant the next morning to his Lordſhip, with a ſmall preſent of tea, two pieces of *China* damaſk, and four little wedges of gold: But he only accepted the tea, one piece of damaſk, and a wedge of gold, for the curioſity of the *Japan* ſtamp upon it. Not long after he ſent for me, and told me, that what he had refuſed himſelf, he hoped, upon his account, I would grant to another, whom he ſhould name: In ſhort, it was his only ſon, who was above 200 miles diſtant from him on the other ſide of the *Oby*, whom he could ſend for, if I gave my conſent. This I ſoon complied with, upon which he ſent his ſervants the next day for his ſon, who returned in twenty days time, bringing ſeven horſes loaded with valuable furs. At night the young Lord was conducted incog. to our apartment, where his father preſented him to me. We then conſulted the beſt way for travelling, and, after buying a conſiderable quantity of ſables, black fox-ſkins, fine ermines, &c. (which I ſold at *Archangel* at a good price) we ſet out of this city the beginning of *June*, making a ſmall caravan, being about 32 horſes and camels, of which I repreſented the head. My young Lord had with him a very faithful *Siberian* ſervant, well acquainted with the roads: We ſhunned the principal towns and cities, as *Tumen*, *Sal-Kamaſkoi*, and ſeveral others, by reaſon of their ſtrictneſs in examining travellers, leſt any of the baniſhed perſons of diſtinction ſhould eſcape. Having paſſed the river *Kama*, we came to a city on the *European* ſide called *Soloy-Kamoſkoy*, where we found the people moſtly Pagans as before. We then paſſed a deſert about 200 miles over, but in other places it is near 700: In paſſing this wild place, we were beſet by a troop of men on horſeback, about forty-

forty-five, armed with bows and arrows. At firſt they looked earneſtly on us, and then placed themſelves in our way. We were above ſixteen men, and drew up in a little line before our camels. My young Lord ſent out his ſervant to know who they were; but when he approached them, he neither knew a word they ſaid, nor would they admit him to come near them at his peril, but prepared to ſhoot him. At his return he told us, he believed them to be *Calmuck Tartars*, and that he thought there were more of them upon the deſert. This was but a ſmall comfort to us, yet ſeeing a little grove at about a quarter of a mile diſtance, we moved to it by the old *Portugueze* pilot's advice, without meeting any oppoſition. In this place we found a ſpringy piece of ground, a great ſpring running into a little brook on one ſide, joined with another like it a little farther, which in ſhort was the head of the river *Writſka*. We went to work, immediately cutting down great arms of trees, and laid them hanging (not quite cut off) from one tree to another. And thus we waited the motions of the enemy, without perceiving any advance they made towards us: But about two hours before night, being joined by ſome others, they made about 80 horſe, among whom we fancied were ſome women, and coming on us with great fury, we fired without ball, calling to them in the *Ruſſian* tongue to know their buſineſs; but they not underſtanding us, or pretending ſo, came directly to the wood-ſide, not conſidering that we were ſo fortified, that they could not [illegible] captain and engineer, and deſired us not to [illegible] they came within piſtol-ſhot, and he gave the word of command; then to take the ſureſt aim: But he did not bid us fire, till they were within two pikes of us; and then we killed 15 of them, wounded ſeveral, as alſo their horſes, having every one charged with two or three balls at leaſt. So much were they ſurprized at our undauntedneſs, that they fell back about

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100 rods from us. In the mean time, we loaded again, and all ſallying out, ſecured four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders we found were killed, and perceived them to be *Tartars*. About an hour after they made another attempt to break in, but finding us ready to receive them, they retired.

All that night we worked hard in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barracadoing the entrances into the woods; but when day-light came, we made a very unwelcome diſcovery; for the enemy being encouraged by their aſſiſtance, had ſet up eleven or twelve tents, in the form of a camp, about three quarters of a mile from us. I muſt confeſs, I was never more concerned in my life, giving myſelf, and all that I had over for loſt: As for my partner, as the loſs of his goods would be his ruin, before they ſhould be taken from him, he would fight to the laſt drop of his blood. But to eſcape their numbers, I had recourſe to a ſtratagem, by kindling a large flame to burn all night; and no ſooner was it dark, but we purſued our journey towards the pole, or the north ſtar, and ſo travelling all night, by ſix o'clock in the morning we came to a *Ruſſian* village, called *Kermanzinſkoy*, where we paſſed a little river called *Kerzta*, and from thence came to a large town named *Ozouoys*, where we heard that ſeveral troops of *Calmuck Tartars* had been abroad upon the deſert, but that we were paſt all danger. Within five days after, we came to *Veuſtima*, upon the river *Witzedga*: From thence we came to *Lawrenſkoy*, on the 2d of *July*, with two luggage-boats and a convenient bark, we embarked the 7th, and arrived at *Archangel* the 18th, after a year, five months, and three days journey, including the eight months and odd days we ſpent at *Tobolſki*. We came from *Archangel* the 20th of *Auguſt* in the ſame year, and arrived at the *Elbe* the 30th of *September*. And here indeed my partner and I made a very good

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ſale of our goods, both thoſe of *China* and *Siberia*, when dividing our effects, my ſhare came to 3475*l.* 17 s. 3 d. after all the loſſes we had ſuſtained, and charges we had been at. At *Hamburg* my young Lord parted from me, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*, not only to ſeek protection, but to correſpond with his father's friends: And, after we had ſtaid four months at *Hamburg*, I came from thence over land to the *Hague*, where embarking in the packet, I arrived in *London* the 10th of *January*, 1705, after ten years and nine months abſence from *England*.

ROBINSON CRUSOE's VISION OF THE ANGELIC WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

Of Solitude.

HOWEVER ſolitude is looked upon as a reſtraint to the pleaſures of the world, in company and converſation; yet it is a happy ſtate of exemption from a ſea of trouble, an inundation of vanity and vexation and diſappointment. While we enjoy ourſelves, neither the joy nor ſorrow of other men affect us: We are then at liberty, with the voice of our ſoul, to ſpeak to God. By this we ſhun ſuch frequent trivial diſcourſe, as ever becomes an obſtruction to virtue: And how often do we find we had reaſon to wiſh we had not been in company, or ſaid nothing when we were there: For either we offend God by the impiety of our diſcourſe, or lay ourſelves open to the violence of deſigning people by unguarded expreſſions: And conſequently perceive the coldneſs and treachery of pretended friends, when once involved in trouble and affliction: And ſuch unfaithful intimates (I ſhould ſay enemies) who rather by falſe inuendoes would accumulate miſeries upon us, than honeſtly aſſiſt us when ſuffering under the moſt artful and deſigning men. But in a ſtate of ſolitude, when our tongues cannot be heard except by the Great Majeſty of Heaven, how happy are we

we, in the bleſſed enjoyment of converſe with our maker! 'Tis then we make him our friend, which makes us above the envy and contempt of wicked men. And when a man converſes with himſelf, he is ſure that he does not converſe with an enemy: At leaſt, we ſhould retreat to good company, and good books: I mean not by ſolitude that a man ſhould retire into a cell, a deſert, or a monaſtery, which would be altogether an uſeleſs and unprofitable reſtraint: For as men are formed for ſociety, and have an abſolute neceſſity and dependence one upon another; ſo there is a retirement of the ſoul, in which it converſes with heaven, even in the midſt of men: And indeed no man is more fit to ſpeak freely, than he, who can without any violence to himſelf, refrain his tongue, or keep ſilent altogether. As to religion, it is by this the ſoul gets acquainted with the hidden myſteries of the holy writings: here ſhe finds thoſe floods of tears, in which good men waſh themſelves day and night; and only makes a viſit to God, and his holy angels. In this converſation the trueſt peace and moſt ſolid joy are to be found; it is a continual feaſt of contentment on earth, and the means of attaining everlaſting happineſs in heaven.

CHAP. II.

Of Honeſty.

HONESTY is a virtue beloved by good men, and pretended to by all perſons: In this there are ſeveral degrees: To pay every man his own, is the *common* law of honeſty; but to do good to all mankind, is the *Chancery* law of honeſty; and this chancery court is in every man's breaſt, where his *Conſcience* is *Lord Chancellor*. Hence it is that a miſer, tho' he pays every one their own, cannot be an honeſt man, when he does not diſcharge the good offices that are incumbent on a friendly, kind and generous perſon: For the

prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, ch. xxxvii. 7, 8. *The inſtruments of a churl are evil: He deviſeth wicked devices to deſtroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy ſpeaketh right. But the liberal deviſeth liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall he ſtand.* 'Tis certainly honeſty, to do every thing the law requires; but ſhould we throw every poor debtor in priſon till he has paid the utmoſt farthing, hang every malefactor without mercy, exact the penalty of every bond, and the forfeiture of every indenture: why this would be downright cruelty, and not honeſty; and is contrary to that general rule, *to do to another, that which you would have done unto you.* Sometimes neceſſity makes an honeſt man a knave, when a rich man is an honeſt man, but no thanks to him for it. The trial of honeſty is this: Did you ever want bread, and had your neighbour's loaf in keeping, and would ſtarve, rather than eat it? Were you ever arreſted, having in your cuſtody another man's caſh, and would rather go to gaol than to break it? If ſo, then indeed this may be reckoned honeſty. For King *Solomon* tells us, *that a good name is better than life, and is a precious ointment, and which, when a man has once loſt, he has nothing left worth keeping.*

CHAP. III.

Of ſuffering Afflictions.

AFFLICTIONS are very common to all mankind, and whether they proceed from loſſes and diſappointments, or the malice of men, they often bring their advantages along with them: For this ſhews men the vanity and deceitfulneſs of this life, and is an occaſion of rectifying our meaſures, and bringing us to a more modeſt opinion of ourſelves: It tells us how neceſſary the aſſiſtance of divine grace is to us, when life itſelf becomes a burthen, and death even deſirable. But when the greateſt oppreſſion

comes

pital; and whoſe carcaſſes ſtink as bad as their diſcourſe, till the body becomes too naſty for the ſoul to ſtay any longer in it.

Nor is falſe talking leſs to be avoided: For lying is the ſheep's cloathing hung upon the wolf's back; 'tis the *Phariſee*'s prayer, the whore's bluſh, the hypocrite's paint, the murderer's ſmile, the thief's cloak, 'tis *Joab*'s embrace, and *Judas*'s kiſs; in a word, 'tis mankind's darling ſin, and the devil's diſtinguiſhing character. Some add lies to lies, till it not only comes to be improbable, but even impoſſible too: Others lie for gain, to deceive, delude, and betray: And a third ſort lie for ſport, or *for fun*. There are other liars, who are perſonal and malicious; who foment differences, and carry tales from one houſe to another, in order to gratify their own envious tempers, without any regard or reverence for truth.

CHAP. V.

Of the preſent State of Religion in the World.

I Doubt, indeed, there is much more devotion than religion in the world, more adoration than ſupplication, and more hypocriſy than ſincerity: And it is very melancholy to conſider, what numbers of people there are, furniſhed with the powers of reaſon and the gifts of nature, and yet abandoned to the groſſeſt ignorance and depravity. But it would be uncharitable for us to imagine, (as ſome Papiſts abounding with too much ill-nature, the only ſcandal to religion, do) that they will certainly be in the ſtate of damnation after this life: For how can we thinſt it conſiſtent with the mercy and goodneſs of an infinite being, to damn thoſe creatures, when he has not furniſhed them with the light of his goſpel? Or how can ſuch proud, conceited, and cruel bigots preſcribe rules to the juſtice and mercy of God?

We are told by ſome people, that the great image which King *Nebuchadnezzar* ſet up to be adored by his people, held the repreſentation of the ſun in his right hand, as the principal object of adoration. But to wave this diſcourſe of Heathens, how many ſelf-contradicting principles are held among Chriſtians? And how do we doom one another to the devil, while all profeſs to worſhip the ſame Deity, and to expect the ſame ſalvation?

When I was at *Portugal* there was held at that time the court of juſtice of the inquiſition. All the criminals were carried in proceſſion to the great church; where eight of them were habited in gowns and caps of canvas, whereon the torments of hell were diſplayed, and they were condemned and burnt for crimes againſt the Catholic faith and Bleſſed Virgin.

I am ſorry to make any reflections upon Chriſtians; but indeed in *Italy* the *Romiſh* religion ſeems the moſt cruel and mercenary upon earth: And a very judicious perſon who travelled through *Italy* from *Turky* tells us, "That there is only the face, and outward pomp of religion there; that the church protects murderers and aſſaſſins, and then delivers the civil magiſtrates over to Satan for doing juſtice; interdicts whole kingdoms, and ſhuts up the churches for want of paying a few eccleſiaſtic dues, and ſo puts a ſtop to religion for want of their money: That the Court of Inquiſition burnt two men for ſpeaking diſhonourably of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the miſſionaries of *China* tolerated the worſhipping the devil by their new converts: That *Italy* was the theatre, where religion was the grand opera; and that the Popiſh clergy were no other than the ſtage-players."

As to religion in *Poland*, they deny Chriſt to be the Meſſiah, or that the Meſſiah was come in the fleſh. And as to their Proteſtants, they are the followers of *Lelius Socinus*, who denied our Saviour's divinity; and have no concern about the divine inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt.

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In *Muſcovy* their churches are built of wood, and indeed they have but wooden prieſts, though of the *Greek* church: They pray as much to St. *Nicholas*, as Papiſts do to the Virgin *Mary*, for protection in all their difficulties & afflictions.

As to *Lutherans*, they only differ from the *Romans* in believing Conſubſtantiation, inſtead of Tranſubſtantiation; but like them they are much pleaſed with the external gallantry and pomp, more than the true and real practice of it.

In *France* I found a world of prieſts, the ſtreets every where crowded with them, and the churches full of women; but ſurely never was a nation ſo full of blind guides, ſo ignorant of religion, and even as void of morals, as thoſe people who confeſs their ſins to them,

Now it ſeems ſtrange, that while all men own the Divine Being, there ſhould be ſo many different ſentiments of paying him obedience in the Chriſtian church: I know not what reaſon to aſſign for this, except it be their different capacities and faculties.

And indeed upon this account, we have perceived in all Chriſtian countries what mortal feuds have been about religion: what wars and bloodſhed have moleſted *Europe*, till the general pacification of the *German* troubles at the treaty of *Weſtphalia*; and ſince between the *Lutheran* churches? And ſhould I take a proſpect at home, what unhappy diviſions are between Chriſtians in this kingdom about Epiſcopacy, Preſbytery, the Church of *England* men and the Diſſenters; and where they withſtand one another, like St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*, even to the face; as much as to ſay, carry on the diſpute to the utmoſt extremity.

It might be a queſtion, why there are ſuch differences in religious points, and why theſe breaches ſhould be ſo hot and irreconcileable? All the anſwer I can give to this, is, that we enquire more concerning

ing the truth of religion, than any other nation in the world; and the anxious concern we have about it makes us jealous of every opinion; and tenacious of our own: And this is not becauſe we are more furious and raſh than other people; but the truth is, we are more concerned about them, and being ſenſible that the ſcripture is the great rule of faith, the ſtandard for life and doctrine, we have recourſe to it ourſelves, without ſubmitting to the pretended infallible judge upon earth.

There is another queſtion, pertinent to the former, what remedy can we apply to this malady? And to this I muſt negatively anſwer, not to have us be leſs religious, that we might differ leſs about it: And this is ſtriking at the very root of all religious differences; for certainly, where they to be carried on with a peaceable ſpirit, willing to be informed, our variety of opinions would not have the name of differences; nor ſhould we ſeparate in communion of charity, though we did not agree in ſeveral articles of religion.

Nor is there a leſs uſeful queſtion to ſtart, namely, where will our unhappy religious differences end? To which I hope I may anſwer, *In Heaven:* There all unchriſtian and unbrotherly differences will find a period; there we ſhall embrace many a ſinner that here we think it a diſhonour to converſe with; and perceive many a heart we have broken here with cenſures, reproaches and revilings, made whole again by the balm of the ſame Redeemer's blood. Here we ſhall perceive there have been other flocks than thoſe of our fold; that thoſe we have excommunicated have been taken into that ſuperior communion; and, in a word, that thoſe contradicting notions and principles, which we thought inconſiſtent with true religion, we ſhall then find reconcileable to themſelves, to one another, and to the fountain of truth. If any man aſk me, why our differences cannot be ended on earth? I anſwer, were we all thoroughly convinced, that

that then they would be reconciled, we would put an end to them before; but this is impoſſible to be done: for as mens certain convictions of truth are not equal to one another, or to the weight and ſignificancy of ſuch veracity; ſo neither can a general effect of this affair be expected on this ſide of time, this ſide of the grave.

Before I conclude this chapter, I ſhall beg leave to diſcourſe a little of the wonderful excellency of negative religion and negative virtue. The latter ſets out like the *Phariſee*, with *God, I thank thee*; 'tis a piece of religious pageantry, the hypocrite's hope; and in a word, 'tis a poſitive vice: For it is either a *maſk* to deceive others, or a *miſt* to deceive ourſelves. A man thus cloathed with negatives, thus argues: I am not ſuch a drunkard as my landlord, ſuch a thief as my tenant, ſuch a ſwearer as my neighbour; neither am I a cheat, an atheiſt, a rakiſh fellow, or a highwayman: No! I live a ſober, regular, retired life: I am a good man, I go to church, *God I thank thee*. Now though a man boaſts of his virtue in contradiction to the vices mentioned, yet a perſon had better be them all together than *the man himſelf*, for he is ſo full of himſelf, ſo perſuaded that he is good and religious enough already, that he has no thoughts of any thing, except it be to pull off his hat to God Almighty now and then, and thank him, that he has no occaſion for him; and has the vanity to think that his neighbours muſt imagine well of him too.

Now the negative man though he is no drunkard, yet is intoxicated with the pride of his own worth: A good neighbour and peacemaker in other families, but a tyrant in his own; appears in church for a ſhew, but never falls upon his knees in his cloſet; does all his alms before men to be ſeen by them; eager in the duties of the ſecond table, but regardleſs of the firſt; appears religious to be taken notice of by men, but without intercourſe or communication between God and his own ſoul. Pray what is this

man

without mercy, exact the penalty of every do
the forfeiture of every indenture: why this w
downright cruelty, and not honesty; and is
ry to that general rule, *to do to another, that u*
would have done unto you. Sometimes necessity
an honest man a knave, when a rich man is
nest man, but no thanks to him for it. Th
of honesty is this: Did you ever want bread,
your neighbour's loaf in keeping, and would
rather than eat it? Were you ever arrested, ha
your custody another man's cash, and would
go to gaol than to break it? If so, then inde
may be reckoned honesty. For King *Solomon*
that a good name is better than life, and is a
ointment, and which, when a man has once lost,
nothing left worth keeping.

CHAP. III.

Of suffering Afflictions.

AFFLICTIONS are very common to all m
and whether they proceed from losses and
pointments, or the malice of men, they ofte
their advantages along with them: For this
men the vanity and deceitfulness of this li

comes upon us, we muſt have recourſe to Patience, begging of God to give us that virtue. And the more compoſed we are in any trouble, the more commendable is our wiſdom; and the larger will be our recompence. And let the provocation be what it will, whether from a good-natured and conſcientious, or a wicked, perverſe, and vexatious man, all this we ſhould take as from the over-ruling hand of God, as a puniſhment for our ſins. Many times injured innocence may be abuſed by falſe oaths, or the power of wicked, jealous, or malicious men; but we often find it, like the palm, riſe the higher, the more it is depreſſed, while the juſtice of God is eminently remarkable in puniſhing thoſe one way or other, who deſire or endeavour to procure the downfal of an innocent man: Nor does God fail comforting an afflicted perſon, who with tears and prayers ſolicits the throne of heaven for deliverance and protection. *David* ſays, *That his ſoul was full of trouble, and his life drew near unto the grave.* But certainly *David*'s afflictions made him eminently remarkable, particularly when purſued by King *Saul*, and hunted as a partridge over the mountains. But one thing which ſtands by innocence, is the love of God: For were we to ſuffer diſgrace, nay, an ignominious death itſelf, what conſolation does innocence procure at our lateſt conflict, our laſt moments?

CHAP. IV.

Of Immorality of Converſation, and the vulgar Errors of Behaviour.

AS converſation is a great part of human happineſs, ſo it is a pleaſant ſight to behold a ſweet tempered man, who is always fit for it; to ſee an air of humour and pleaſantneſs ſit upon every brow, and even ſomething angelic upon every countenance: Whereas if we obſerve a deſigning man, we ſhall find

neſs of the Almighty Creator: For otherwiſe it would be abſurd to think that God ſhould create a world, without any care or providence over it, in guiding the operations of nature, ſo as to preſerve the order of his creation.

Revealed religion gives us light into the care and concern of his Providence, by the climates being made habitable, the creatures ſubjected and made nouriſhing, and all vegetative life made medicinal; and all this for the ſake of man, who is made viceroy to the king of the earth. The ſhort deſcription I ſhall give of Providence is this, that it is that operation of the power, of the wiſdom, juſtice and goodneſs of God, by which he influences, governs and directs, not only the means, but the events of all things, which concern us in this ſublunary world; the ſovereignty of which we ought always to reverence, obey its motions, obſerve its dictates; and *liſten to its voice. The prudent man foreſeeth evil, and hideth himſelf*; that is, as I take it, there is a ſecret Providence intimates to us, that ſome danger threatens, if we ſtrive not to ſhun it.

The ſame day that Sir *John Hotham* kept out *Hull* againſt the royal martyr King *Charles* I. the ſame day Sir *John Hotham* was put to death by the parliament for that very action: the ſame day that the King himſelf ſigned the warrant for the execution of the Earl of *Stafford*, the ſame day of the month was he barbarouſly murdered by the blood-thirſty *Oliverian* crew: And the ſame day that King *James* II. came to the crown againſt the bill of excluſion, the ſame day he was voted abdicated by the parliament, and the throne filled with King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The voice of ſignal deliverances from ſudden dangers, is not only a juſt call to repentance, but a caution againſt falling into the like danger: But ſuch, who are utterly careleſs of themſelves after, ſhew a lethargy of the worſt nature, which ſeems to me to

be

be a kind of practical atheiſm, or at leaſt a living in a contempt of heaven, when he receives good at the hand of his maker, but is unconcerned at the nature and original of it; neither when he receives evil does it bring him to any ſtate of humiliation.

We have a remarkable ſtory of two ſoldiers being condemned to death in *Flanders*, the general being prevailed upon to ſpare one of them, ordered them to caſt dice upon the drum head for their lives: The firſt throwing two ſixes, wrung his hands, but was ſurprized when the other threw two ſixes alſo. The officer appointed to ſee the execution ordered them to throw again; they did ſo, and each of them threw two ſives; at which the ſoldiers that ſtood round ſhouted, and ſaid neither of them was to die. Hereupon the officer acquainted the council of war, who ordered them to throw again, and then came up two fours: The general being made acquainted with it, ſends for the men, and pardoned them: *I love*, ſays he, *in ſuch extraordinary caſes to liſten to the voice of Providence.*

We read in the holy writings, how God ſpeaks to men, by appearance of angels, or by dreams and viſions of the night. As God appeared to *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Jacob*; ſo angels have appeared to many in other caſes, as *Manoah* and his wife, *Zacharia*, the Virgin *Mary*, and to the apoſtles; others have been warned in a dream, as King *Abimilech*, the falſe prophet *Balaam*, and many others.

It is certainly a very great and noble enquiry, what we ſhall be after this life, being aſſured that there is a place reſerved for the reception of our ſouls after death: For if we are to be, we muſt have *a where*, which the ſcriptures aſſert by the examples of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. The doctrine of ſpirits was long believed before our Saviour's time; for even the diſciples of the bleſſed Jeſus perceiving our Saviour walking on the ſea, they were much ſurprized, as though

they had ſeen a ſpirit. Nay, in thoſe ages of the world, it was believed that ſpirits intermeddled in the affairs of mankind; and throughout the Old Teſtament I do not find any inſtitution, that in the leaſt contradicts it. All the pains and labour that ſome learned men have taken to confute the ſtory of the witch of *Endor*, and the appearance of an old man perſonating *Samuel*, cannot make ſuch apparitions inconſiſtent with nature or religion: And it is plain, that, was it either a good or bad ſpirit, it prophetically told the unfortunate king what ſhould happen the next day: For, ſaid the ſpirit, *The Lord will deliver thee into the hand of the Philiſtines; and to-morrow ſhalt thou, and thy ſons, be with me.*

Abundance of ſtrange notions poſſeſſed me when I was in the deſolate iſland; eſpecially of a moonſhiny night, when every buſh ſeemed a man, every tree a man on horſeback. When I crept into the diſmal cave, where the old goat lay expiring, whoſe articulate groans even reſembled thoſe of a man, how was I ſurprized on this occaſion, when my blood chilled in my veins, a cold ſweaty dew ſat on my forehead, my hair ſtood upright, and my joints, like *Belſhazzar*'s knees, ſhook againſt one another. And indeed, though I afterwards found what it was, the remains of this ſurprize did not wear off me for a great while; and I had frequently ſome returns of thoſe vapours on different occaſions, and ſometimes without any occaſion at all.

One night, after having ſeen ſome appearance in the air, as I had juſt laid down in my bed, one of my feet pained me, after that came a numbneſs ſucceeded with a tingling in my blood; when on a ſudden I thought ſomething alive lay upon me, from my knee to above half my leg. Hereupon immediately I flung myſelf out of bed in the dark, where I thought the creature lay: But finding nothing, *Lord deliver me from an evil ſpirit*, ſaid I, *what can this be?* And when

when I lighted a candle, I could perceive no living creature in the place with me, but the poor parrot, who being frighted, cried out, *Hold your tongue*, and *What's the matter with you?* which words I had taught him, by ſaying ſo to him, when he made ſuch ſcreaming noiſes that I did not like. *Lord*, ſaid I aloud, *ſurely the devil has been here. Hold your tongue*, ſays *Poll*. I then was mad at the bird, and putting on my cloaths, cried I am terribly frighted. *What's the matter with you?* ſays *Poll*. You toad, ſaid I, I'll knock your brains out. *Hold your tongue*, cried he again, and ſo fell a chattering, and calling *Robinſon Cruſoe*, as he did before But after I had compoſed myſelf, and went to bed again, I began plainly to ſee it was a diſtemper that affected the nerves, and ſo my terrors vaniſhed at once.

How intelligences are given or received, we do not know; nor are we ſenſible of their being conveyed this way, from the ſpirits unembodied, to ours that are in life; or of their being conveyed that way, namely, from us to them: The latter certainly is done without the help of organs, and the former is conveyed by the underſtanding, and the retired faculties of the ſoul.

The ſpirits, without the help of voices, converſe.

The more particular diſcoveries of the converſe of ſprits, ſeem to me as follow:

Dreams, voices, noiſes, impulſes, hints, apprehenſions, involuntary ſadneſs, &c.

Dreams of old were the ways by which God himſelf was pleaſed to warn men what ſervices to perform, and what to ſhun. *Joſeph* was directed of God in a dream to go to *Egypt*, and ſo were the wiſe men warned in a dream to depart into their own country another way, to avoid the fury of *Herod*. I am not like thoſe who think dreams are the mere doſings of a delirious head, or the relicts of a day's perplexities or pleaſures; but on the contrary, I muſt take leave to

ſay, I never had any capital miſchief befel me in my life, but I had ſome notice of it by a dream; and had I not been a thoughtleſs unbelieving creature, I might have taken many a warning, and avoided many of the evils I afterwards fell into, merely by a total neglect of thoſe dreams.

I remember, I was preſent at a diſpute between a layman and a clergyman upon the ſubject of dreams: The firſt thought no regard ſhould be given unto them, that their communication from the inviſible to the viſible world was a mere chimera, without any ſolid foundation: For, 1. (ſaid he) if dreams were from the agency of any preſcient being, the motives would be more direct, and the diſcoveries more plain; and not by allegories and emblematic fancies expreſſing things imperfect and obſcure. 2. Since, with the notice of evil, there was not a power given to avoid it, it is not likely to proceed from a ſpirit, but merely fortuitous. 3. That the inconſtancy of ſuch notices, in caſes equally important, prove they did not proceed from any ſuch agent. 4. That as our moſt diſtinct dreams had nothing in them of any ſignificancy, it would be irrational and vain to think that they came from heaven. And, 5. That as men were not always thus warned or ſupplied with notice of good or evil, ſo all men are not alike ſupplied with them; and what reaſon could we give, why one man or one woman ſhould not have the ſame hints as another.

To all this the clergyman gave anſwer, 1. That as to the ſignification of dreams, and the objections againſt them, as being dark and doubtful, they are expreſſed generally by hieroglyphical repreſentations, ſimilies, alluſions, and figurative emblematic ways, by which means, for want of interpretation, the thing was not underſtood, and conſequently the evil not ſhunned. 2. That we charge God fooliſhly, to ſay he has given the notice of evil without the power to avoid it; for if any one had not power to avoid the evil,

evil, it was no notice to him; and it was want of giving due heed to that notice, that men firſt neglected themſelves, and then charged the Judge of all the earth with injuſtice. 3. That we ought not to find fault with the inconſtancy of theſe notices, but rather our crazy underſtandings by pretending dreams were not to be regarded, and neglect when the voice really ſpoke to us for our good. It was a great miſtake to ſay dreams had no import at all; it might rather be ſaid, none that we could perceive the reaſon of, which was owing to our blindneſs and ſupine negligence to be ſecure at one time, and our heads too much alarmed at another; ſo that the ſpirit which we might be ſaid to be converſing with in a dream, was conſtantly and equally kind and careful; but our powers not always in the ſame ſtate of action, nor equally attentive to or retentive of the hints that were given. And, 5. To anſwer the laſt queſtion, why people are not equally ſupplied? This ſeemed to be no queſtion; for Providence itſelf might have ſome ſhare in the direction of it, and then that Providence might be limited by ſome ſuperior direction: That as to the converſe of ſpirits, he could not tie up to a ſtated converſe: Such a thing there was, but why there was ſo much of it, and no more, was none of his buſineſs, and that no ſuch diſcovery had ever been made yet to mankind. Nor are we leſs to imagine of waking dreams, trances, viſions, noiſes, hints, impulſes, and all the waking teſtimonies of an inviſible world, and of the communication that there is between us and them, which commonly entertain us with our eyes open.

One time my fancy ſoared on high, to ſee what diſcoveries I could make in thoſe clearer regions, I found that ſuch immenſe bodies as the ſun, ſtars, planets and moons in the great circle of the lower heaven, is far from being found in the ſtudy of nature, on the ſurface of the earth: Here I ſaw many things

that we can entertain little or no notion of in a ſtate of common ſuperficial life, and the emptineſs of our notion that the planets were made habitable worlds; that is, I mean, for the ſubſiſtence and exiſtence of man and beaſt, and the preſervation of the vegetative and ſenſitive life: No, no, this is, I aſſure you, a world of ſpirits: For here I ſaw a clear demonſtration of Satan being the prince of the power of the air, keeping his court or camp, with innumerable angels to attend him: But his power is not ſo great as we imagine, he can tempt us to the crime, but cannot force us to commit it: *Humanum eſt peccare.* Neither has the devil power to force the world into a rebellion againſt heaven, though his legions are employed in the ſavage nations to ſet up their maſter for a god, and who made the Heathens either worſhip him in perſon, or by his repreſentatives, idols and monſters, with the cruel ſacrifices of human blood. Now as to the limitations of the devil's power, you muſt underſtand, that there are numbers of good angels ſent from the higher and bleſt abodes, to diſconcert and oppoſe their meaſures: And this every Chriſtian, I hope, believes when he prays to God, the father of ſpirits, to give his angels charge over him while he ſlumbereth and ſleepeth. For if by theſe preventing powers the devil was not reſtrained, the earth would be ſubjected to dearth, droughts and famine; the air infected with noxious fumes; and, in a word, mankind would be utterly deſtroyed, which might oblige our maker to the neceſſity of a new *Fiat*, or elſe have no more creatures to honour and worſhip him.

As the devil never wanted inſinuators, I ſhall obſerve, that I learned a way how to make a man dream of what I pleaſed. For inſtance, let us ſuppoſe one to be found aſleep, let another lay his mouth cloſe to his ear, and whiſper any thing ſo ſoftly as not to awake him,

him, the ſleeping man ſhall dream of what has been ſo whiſpered in his ear; nay, I can aſſure you, theſe inſinuating devils can do this even when we are awake, which I call *Impulſes of the mind*: For from whence, but from theſe inſinuators, come our cauſeleſs paſſions, involuntary wickedneſs, or ſinful deſires? who elſe forms ideas in the mind of man when he is aſleep, or preſents terrible or beautiful figures to the fancy? Mr. *Milton* repreſents the devil tempting *Eve* in the ſhape of a toad lying juſt at her ear, when in her bower ſhe lay faſt aſleep; and brings in *Eve* telling *Adam* what an uneaſy night's reſt ſhe had, and relating her dream to him. And likewiſe I believe that good ſpirits have the ſame intercourſe with us, in warning us againſt thoſe things that are evil, and prompting us to thoſe which are good.

Were we to have the eyes of our ſouls opened through the eyes of our bodies, we ſhould ſee this very immediate region of air which we breathe in, thronged with ſpirits now inviſible, and which otherwiſe would be the moſt terrible: We ſhould view the ſecret tranſactions of thoſe meſſengers who are employed when the parting ſoul takes its leave of the reluctant body, and perhaps ſee things nature would ſtart back from with the utmoſt terror and amazement. In a word, the curtain of providence for the diſpoſition of things here, and the curtain of judgment for the determination of the ſtate of ſouls hereafter, would be alike drawn back; and what heart could ſupport here its future ſtate in life, much leſs that of its future ſtate after life, even good or bad.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, being about ſeven miles diſtant from *London*, a friend that came to dine with him, ſolicited him to go to the city. What for, ſaid the gentleman, is there any occaſion for me? no, Sir, ſaid the other, nothing at all, except the enjoyment of your good company; and ſo gave over importuning him. Juſt then a ſtrong impulſe of mind urged

urged the gentleman, and purſued him like a voice, with, *go to* London, *go to* London. Hark ye, ſays he to his friend, is all well at *London?* Am I wanted there? Or did you aſk me to go with you on any particular account? are all my family well? Yes, indeed, Sir, ſaid he, I perceived them all very hearty; and I did not aſk you to go to *London* upon any particular account whatſoever, except it was for the ſake of your good company. Again, he put off his reſolution, but ſtill the impulſe ſuggeſted to him, *Go to* London; and at length he did ſo; and when he came there he found a letter and meſſenger had been there to ſeek him, and to tell him of a particular buſineſs, which was firſt and laſt above a thouſand pounds to him, and which might have inevitably been loſt, had he not returned to *London* that night.

The obeying of ſeveral hints, or ſecret impulſes, argues great wiſdom. I knew a man that was under misfortunes, being guilty of miſdemeanors againſt the government; when, abſconding for fear of his ruin, all his friends adviſing him not to put himſelf in the hands of the law; one morning as he awaked, he felt a ſtrong impulſe darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to them:* And this was repeated ſeveral times to his mind, and at laſt he anſwered to it as if it had been a voice, *Who ſhall I write to?* Immediately it returned, *Write to the Judge:* And this impulſe purſued him for ſeveral days, till at length he took pen, ink and paper, and ſet down to write to him; when immediately words flowed from his pen like ſtreams from a fair fountain, that even charmed himſelf with expectation of ſucceſs: In ſhort, the letter was ſo ſtrenuous an argument, ſo pathetic in its eloquence, and perſuaſively moving, that when the judge had read it, he ſent him an anſwer he might be eaſy, for he would endeavour to make that matter light to him; and indeed never left exerting himſelf, till he had ſtopt

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the proſecution, and reſtored him to his liberty and family.

I knew a perſon, who had ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her mind, that the houſe ſhe was in would be burnt that very night, that ſhe could not go to ſleep, the impulſe ſhe had upon her mind preſſed her not to go to bed, which however ſhe reſiſted and went to bed, but was terrified with the thought, which, as ſhe called it, run in her mind, that the houſe would be burnt, that ſhe could not go to ſleep. So much diſcovery had ſhe made of her apprehenſions in the family, that they were all in a fright, and applied themſeves to ſearch from the top of the houſe to the bottom, and to ſee every fire and every candle ſafe out, ſo that, as they all ſaid, it was impoſſible any thing could happen in the houſe, and they ſent to the neighbours on both ſides to do the like. Thus far they did well, but had ſhe obeyed the hint, which preſſed upon her ſtrangely not to go to bed, ſhe had done much better, for the fire was actually kindled at that time, though not broken out. About an hour after the whole family was in bed, the houſe juſt over the way, directly oppoſite, was all in a flame, and the wind, which was very high, blowing the flame upon the houſe this gentlewoman lived in, ſo filled it with ſmoke and fire in a few moments, the ſtreet being narrow that they had not air to breathe, or time to do any thing, but jump out of their beds, and ſave their lives; had ſhe obeyed the hint given, and not gone to bed, ſhe might have ſaved ſeveral things: but the few moments ſhe had ſpared to her, were but juſt ſufficient to leap out of bed, put ſome cloaths on, and get down ſtairs for the houſe was on fire in half a quarter of an hour.

While I am mentioning theſe things, methinks it is very hard, that we ſhould obey the whiſpers of evil ſpirits, and not much rather receive the notices which good

good ones are pleaſed to give. We never perceive the misfortune of this, but when in real danger; and then we cry, *my mind miſgave me*, when I was going about it: But if ſo, why did you ſlight the caution? Why not liſten to it, *as to a voice?* And then there had been no reaſon to make this complaint.

I remember about fourteen or fifteen years ago (as to time I cannot be very poſitive) there was a young clergyman in the city of *Dublin* in *Ireland* who had a very uncommon dream. That a gentleman had killed his wife (who was a relation of his) by ſtabbing her in ſeveral places. The fright of this ſoon awaked him; he then fell aſleep a ſecond time, dreamt the ſame dream; and, in ſhort, a third time alſo. So troubled was he in his mind, that he aroſe, and knocking at his mother's chamber, told his concern, and of his apprehenſions that all was not right at his relation's houſe. Dear ſon, ſays the good old gentlewoman, mind not theſe fooliſh dreams: and I very much wonder that you, being a perſon in holy orders, ſhould have regard to ſuch illuſions. He went to bed again, ſlept and dreamt as before. And then indeed he put on his night-gown, and went to *Smithfield*, the place where his relation dwelt. Here it was, alas! he perceived his dream too ſadly fulfilled, by ſeeing his relation, the young lady, big with child, who was a Proteſtant, ſtabbed in ſeven places, by her barbarous huſband, Mr. *Euſtace*, a rigid Papiſt, only upon ſome diſcourſes of religion that happened the day before: After the wretch had ſtabbed her in three places, he endeavoured to eſcape out of a window, but ſhe cried *My dear, don't leave me, come back*; *and I ſhall be well again.* At which he returned in a helliſh rage, and gave her four wounds more; when even in this condition, riſing from her bed, ſhe wrapt herſelf in her night-gown, and went to the Lord Biſhop of *Rapho*'s chamber-door (the Biſhop lodging at that time

time in the houſe) *my Lord*, ſaid ſhe, *O, my Lord, make haſte unto me*; but as ſoon as his Lordſhip came, ſhe expired in his arms, reſigning her precious ſoul into the hands of Almighty God. The cruel wretch her huſband was ſhot by the purſuers, too good a death for one who deſerved the gibbet: The lady was univerſally lamented by all tender and religious people. And this tragical relation I have mentioned upon the account of that impulſe, or dream, that the clergyman had at the fatal time of the bloody act.

It might be expected I ſhould enter upon the ſubject of apparitions, and diſcourſe concerning the reality of them; and whether they can reviſit the place of their former exiſtence, and reſume thoſe faculties of ſpeech and ſhape which they had when living! but as theſe are very doubtful matters, I ſhall only make a few obſervations upon them.

I once heard of a man who would allow the reality of apparitions, but laid it all on the devil, and thinking the ſouls of men departed did never appear; yet to this very man ſomething did appear, and then he ſaid, he ſaw the ſhape of an antient man paſs by him in the duſk, who holding up his hand in a threatening poſture, cried out, *O wicked man, repent, repent.* Terrified with this apparition, he conlulted ſeveral friends, who adviſed him to take the advice. But, after all, it was not an apparition, but a grave and pious gentleman, who met him by mere accident, and had been made ſenſible of his wickedneſs; and who never undeceived him, leſt it ſhould hinder his reformation. Where we always willing to make good uſe of Satan's real appearances, I know not but it would go a great way to baniſh him from the viſible world; for I am very poſitive he would ſeldom viſit, if he thought his coming would do us any good: But ſo abſolutely is he at the command

mand of heaven, that he muſt go, even to do the work he abhors.

Some people make a very ill uſe of the general notion, that there are no apparitions, nor ſpirits at all; which is worſe than thoſe who fancy they ſee them upon every occaſion: For thoſe carry their notions farther; even to annihilate the devil, and believe nothing about him, neither of one kind or other: the next ſtep they come to is to conclude *There is no God*; and ſo atheiſm takes its riſe in the ſame ſink, with a careleſſneſs about futurity: But there is no occaſion to enter upon an argument, to prove the being of the Almighty, or to illuſtrate his power by words, who has ſo many undeniable teſtimonies in the breaſt of every rational being to prove his exiſtence: and we have ſufficient proofs enough to convince us of the great ſuperintendency of Divine Providence in the minuteſt affairs of the world, the manifeſt exiſtence of the inviſible world, the reality of ſpirits, and intelligence between us and them. What I have ſaid, I hope will not miſlead any perſon, or be a means whereby they may delude themſelves: For I have ſpoken of theſe things with the utmoſt ſerioufneſs of mind, and with a ſincere and ardent deſire for the general good and benefit of the world.

FINIS.





